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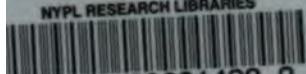
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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
ATHENS

POLITICALLY AND PHILOSOPHICALLY CONSIDERED,

WITH THE VIEW TO AN INVESTIGATION

OF THE

Immediate Causes of ELEVATION, and of DECLINE,

OPERATIVE IN A FREE AND COMMERCIAL STATE.

By WILLIAM YOUNG, Esq.

Θιῶρει τὰ γνηγομένα καὶ τὰ συμπεπλήρη καὶ τοῖς ἰδιώταις καὶ τοῖς τυράντοις,  
ἵαν γὰρ τὰ παρεληλυθότα μνημονεύης ἄμεινον καὶ περὶ των μελλόντων βουλευσης.

Isocrat. Orat.—ad Nicoclem.



L O N D O N :

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# P R E F A C E.

*M*ULTUM *legendum esse non multa*, is an adage of antiquity, replete with a deep and excellent sense ; it means that much reading implies not much knowledge ; and that study leadeth not necessarily to wisdom :—It teaches that to profit from our application, whilst we read one book, we should in thought frame another ; and instead of being *Librorum Helluones*, afford the mind exercise and time wherewith to digest a moderate and wholesome fare :—It inculcates, that to peruse the works of many authors, may to the language of pedantry gain the title of learning ; but that attentively to penetrate the sense of a few, is the way to science.

All men however, have not equal acuteness to develope, equal assiduity to pursue, or equal memory to retain, the subject-matter of a book : says Montaigne,—“ I have read an hundred things in Titus  
“ Livius, that have escaped the observations of  
“ others, and Plutarch has read an hundred more  
“ there,

“ there, besides what I was able to discover :”—  
So far I agree with this sensible writer ; but when he adds,—“ and more perhaps than Livy ever inserted in his book,”—either I do not understand, or I must reject, or I must refine upon the sense of the text ; for though an antiquary or chronologist may take advantage of some word, construction, or circumstance, artfully or fancifully to assume the authenticity of an epoch, or of a relique, in favour to his own prejudices, or to some system, or to some authority to which he is partial ; yet to him who reads history, not as the history of dates and pagods, but of men,—it hath recondite in it, all the lessons of ethics and policy, which he can make himself master of from the perusal. Every annalist must be under the predicament of teaching more than himself knows, to those who come after him ; and who of course connecting *his* particular link of the chain as well with a *succeeding* as with a foregoing series, may justly and logically deduce, what the author could never have surmised to have been deducible from his work : a rustic makes a lever to raise, another employs it to ascertain the weight ; nor is this use the less inherent in the instrument, whatever in such respect may have been the ignorance of its first artificer. So far I premise, in order to obviate the objections,

objections, which I foresee may be made to the following treatise, as too fancifully investigating its subject; and as extracting often from the text of history, documents of philosophy and politics,—when no such deductions should be made, and no such lessons (to use a word of Montaigne's Translator) were ever *inserted* in my originals.

Aristotle in his ninth chapter of Poetics, discriminating history and poetry, considers not the distinction as arising from the measure and harmony of verse: “ the histories of Herodotus (says he) though  
“ delivered in metre, would not constitute a poem;  
“ history teaches what has been,—poetry what may  
“ be; wherefore poetry is of a more philosophical  
“ and didactic spirit than history :”—this opinion of Aristotle, that the epic muse was a better and more comprehensive teacher than the historic, I cannot readily adopt;—I cannot but imagine that this deep thinking philosopher has in one instance decided too hastily, or too lightly. That the poet might in an Æneas combine the mental excellencies of many, as well as the painter delineate the various beauties of many in one piece of art,—I can well conceive; and ~~that history~~, when it portraited an individual, was confined to a narrower ground than the canvas spread to the lavish hand of fancy, I freely allow;—but  
history

history surely consists not in the detail of any one man's life and actions; it is perverted when employed in the service of Cæsar, and not of Rome. National characteristic, as much, or more than private character, should be clearly deducible from this kind of work; and if treated with such view, (and with such view it should be treated) history may teem with as much philosophic theory as poetry: in the annals of an united people, we find matter for general positions, and the particular examples interspersed assist us in the analysis or composition of our system;—they form a set of rudiments to the *συντάξις* which poetry can never have so complete; for many a pregnant circumstance may be exploded, as not being coincident with the rules of the art,—“*primo* “*aspectu levia* (says Tacitus) *sed ex queis magnarum* “*sæpe rerum motus oriuntur* :”—Poetry indeed, as observes the Stagyrte, tells us, “*what may be* ;”—but as a tutorefs of morals and of wisdom, she can only tell, “*what may be*,” by collecting, combining, and modifying “*what has been* ;”—and this, as the following essay may serve to elucidate, is equally the province of history. Poetry may perhaps show the scene to a dim eye, in larger quarries, and in stronger colours;—to gain this advantage likewise over to history, and to paint a forcible and expressive picture of  
my

my subject,—I have changed the attitudes of some figures, I have transposed others, and have approximated them to a stronger contrast, or to a more glaring light. Some few Anachronisms are the result of this free mode of treating history;—I trust they are but few, and that they do not in any degree vitiate the design of this work, either as to accuracy of facts or propriety of deduction.

The design of the following treatise, is from the annals of men and things, to extract the spirit of character and event,—with the narrative to interweave the moral, and thus in the history enfold its comment, to render each political lesson explicit and applicable.

The choice of subject-matter hath been suggested by the analogy it affords in various points of view to one most interesting to a British reader.—The struggles and intrigues of parties, and of popular leaders;—the alternate wisdom, and caprice of the people;—their ardent love of liberty, and high pretensions to command occasionally drooping in subserviency,—and then again rousing from torpid acquiescence, to new jealousies, new claims, and to the most vigilant and active exertion of rights and of powers;—the temporary vigour of a patriot administration, and the successive debility of government from fluctuation of  
b councils;

councils;—the tendencies of the state to accession of empire, and the obstacles to a continuance of foreign influence, and of distant dominion;—the hasty increase of wealth and of marine power from sources of trade, and thereon trade introducing a spirit of dissipation and self-interest to dissolve the very strength and prosperity it gave birth to;—*these*, and many other circumstances attendant on, or complicated with, the political career of a free government and maritime country, are no where more forcibly exemplified, than in *the History of the Republic of Athens*.

The excellent comment of Machiavel on the first Decad of Livy, seems to have been particularly suited to the instructing those of the age and country in which he lived,—disturbed by petty wars, by intestine factions, and by contests for liberty and power. The treatise of Montesquieu “On the greatness and “decline of the Roman Empire,” was founded on a subject, which might have supplied a forcible lesson, to the kingdom, and at the time, in which he wrote. That great author, in another work, remarking a passage of Xenophon relative to the naval power of the Athenians, says, \* “*One would imagine almost, that Xenophon was*

\* Ένος δέ ἰνδύεις εἰσιν, ἐν γὰρ νῆσον οἰκῦντες θάλασσοκράτορες ἦσαν. Xenophi. Pol. Ath. Cap. 2. “Vous diriez que Xenophon à voulu parler de l’Angleterre.” L’Esprit des Loix, Liv. 21. Ch. 7.

“ *speaking in allusion to England :*” — I seem therefore but to pursue the idea of Montesquieu, when further adverting to the history of the great Grecian Republic, I venture to assume, that—“ its arts, its sciences, “ its liberty, its commerce, its colonies, and its empire of the seas, render the subject—*peculiarly* “ *our own.*”

Under these impressions, I resume grounds of political speculation, which in a more confined, or rather in another, point of view, engaged my attention very early in life;—and I confess am the more particularly induced to the present undertaking from a wish to obliterate what was erroneous, as well as to supply what was deficient in a former publication, by substituting a work, the result of a more considerate and mature enquiry.

To this effect, I have employed much time and thought in the endeavouring to render the following historical treatise deserving of the public notice and approbation : whether my leisure hath been well or ill employed, will in a great measure depend on the judgment of others ;—but every author whose “ *love of letters*” transcends his vanity, or desire of literary reputation, hath an advantage beyond the reach of public opinion :—as the sources of consolation and

amusement which at once smooth, and enliven his retired path of life,—his studies are his own; and if his studies are of a moral bent and purpose,—the consequent instruction and self-improvement too are his own. In the publishing the result of his enquiries and speculations, he exposes himself indeed to criticism, and seems to place the estimation of his knowledge, and good sense at an unnecessary hazard:—but, on the other hand, his lucubrations have thereby a direct scope and object, which excite new spirit in each pursuit, and give it an interest and importance obviating the lassitude and disgust, which attend sedentary employments that have no fixed destination, —no design,—no views, beyond the single hour, they indolently engage.

Having stated such inducement to publication, I venture not to urge a further plea, of regard to public utility, and to public amusement: of pretensions to such motives, as well as of the means employed, and of the accomplishment attained, a literary judgment will be founded on other premises, than the mere assertions of a writer, however plausible or earnest:—before the tribunal of public opinion, it becomes not an author to plead for his book,—*but his book for itself.*



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T H E

**T**HE wildest narratives of remote antiquity, however little to be depended on for veracity, are not wholly to be regarded as the sports of roving fantastic genius ; or as useful, merely in the light of fables, bearing a deep and beautiful moral ; they are still more striking as types of the spirit and pursuits of the age they relate to. The mind of man untutored in philosophical truths, recurs naturally to the marvellous ; blind to the inherent wonders of every, the minutest part of the creation, he himself imagines new miracles for the deity of his soul ; each god, each demi-god, each hero is thus aggrandized by the fertile enthusiasm of his adherents, who unwilling to allow the confessed superiority to a Being no way essentially differing from themselves, invest him with such powers, and attribute to him such actions, as their

## THE HISTORY OF ATHENS.

CHAP. wanton zeal may suggest, or wild credulity patronize.—Still,  
 I. however, the virtues held up to admiration, are the virtues of  
 the age that admires; the prejudices and pursuits of the fabulist enter into [1] the delineation of the creature of his fancy, however perfect he may design him; and, as the poet, or other writer, is a member of, and writes but for his community, we may pronounce that his embellishments, though but an airy superstructure, are yet raised on a known and good foundation, and that his recital is at least consonant to the amusement and taste of his cotemporaries.

Thus the memoirs of chivalry, or stories of more ancient heroism, inform, as well as delight; the age of gallant knight-hood is perhaps better understood from the poetical effusions of the Troubadours, than from the accurate history of Mezeray; Woden and his successors are better known from a runic song, than from a monkish historian; and in the tales of Hercules and the Argonauts, the spirit of those remote times is better traced, than it could be in the dry narrative of facts. We thus get acquainted with the prior ages through fables, as with succeeding ages from records; nor is the study thereof to be slighted, as long as the improveability of man is thought worthy to hold a place in his speculations; and the progress and various steps and changes of the human mind, are deemed proper objects of its enquiry. In such philosophical pursuit, the reading of fabulous history has its peculiar use, but further is not to be expected from it; the infancy of human nature can no more serve as example to man in an improved state, than the caprices of a child to one in years, in whose deepest thoughts and studies they may yet profitably find a place.

Locke's Essay  
 on Human Understanding.  
 Emile de  
 Rousseau,  
 tom. 1, &c. &c.

By many, and indeed by most, of the learned, it has been considered as difficult, to draw the line in ancient history between  
 the

# BOOK THE FIRST.

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CHAP.  
I.

the fabulous and the authentic; but here the word *fabulous* bears not its ordinary and derivative sense, and the opposition of terms may be simply construed into *true* and *false*: the ten first books of Livy have been stigmatized with the term *fabulous*,—meaning solely, that the facts therein represented, are singular, doubtful, and, in many cases, stated as such by the very author; but yet are they not to be classed with the tales of poetry; their lesson is deep, and they bear a strong and pointed character; whether after the life or not, the picture hath a physiognomy most interesting, and so well elucidated by the masterly touches of the painter, that equal instruction and pleasure result from the perusal.—Let the antiquary bring his medals, or the book-learned his books, to the controversy; the pedant would cleanse the root, and filth is his portion; whilst the Florentine bee, pitched on the lively flower, is distilling the sweetest honey from each petal.

Discorsi sul  
primo decade  
di Tito Livio.

LITTLE doth it matter, I think, where the record is of so old a date, and affects not any right or property, and gives no authority to any system, and brings no weight of favour or of opposition to the opinions *of the day*; little doth it matter, whether the history is correctly authentic, so long as it bears the characteristics of truth and of nature: the Venus of Zeuxis surely might be pronounced equally estimable, whether the story of the five beauties of Agrigentum was true or false.

Plin. Hist. Nat.  
L. 35. Cap. 9.

LORD BOLINGBROKE looking over the general prospect of history, ancient and modern, and considering its tendency merely as to diffusing the knowledge of men and manners, says, “He would cheerfully exchange the books of Livy we have for those we have not;” he enumerates the advantages Livy had in his latter books, of delineating characters of men whom he knew, and those too of the greatest; of describing events he

Bolingbroke's  
Essay on Hist.  
Lett. 5.

B 2

was

CHAP. was concerned in, facts he had from the immediate actors,—  
 I. *quæque ipse miserrima vidit.*

BUT surely a cotemporary historian of such turbulent times might be too apt to exaggerate through adulation, or to conceal through fear; to instil the precepts, not of the philosopher, but partizan; and colour facts into harmony with his own system of patriotism or friendship. Cæcina, in his letter to Cicero says \*, “ Much [2] have I been necessitated to refrain, “ many things I have been obliged to pass over lightly, many “ ~~to~~ curtail, and very many absolutely to omit; thus circumscribed, restricted, and broken as it is, what pleasure “ or what useful information can be expected from the recital ?”

Epist. fam.  
L. 6. Ep. 7.

So wrote the historian Cæcina, and so probably did Livy write; whatever tribute of praise he might pay to the Tyrannicides, whether he merited his title of “ *Pompeianus*,” or whether his genius might be comprized with *those*, whom Tacitus mentions “ as [3] so candidly, as well as ably describing the “ times of Augustus, *till adulation crept in, and wore down and “ smoothed away their force and spirit* ;” whether a republican zealot, or a time-serving historiographer, he were equally to be distrusted; Cremutius Cordus, who was prosecuted for calling Cassius the last of the Romans, was perhaps a writer more dangerous to truth than the poet Lucan, when, thanking the gods

Tac. Hist. 1.  
Tac. Annal. 4.  
§. 34.

\* I have thought proper to insert a translation rather than the original of such passages of ancient authors, as it suited my purpose to introduce into the body of this work, unless when the force of expression *merely* hath led me to adopt the quotation: for the satisfaction of the learned, I have cited each original passage in the appendix of notes, premising, that in point of expression it hath been my object to retain rather the spirit than the letter of the originals, in all cases, when the idiom of our language did not readily supply me with both.

for



for the bounteous present to the Roman Empire of a Nero, he says, C H A P.

“ — *scelera ipsa nefasque*  
“ *Hâc mercede placent.*”

I.  
Lucan. Phars.  
1.

THE fulsome stile of praise readily disgusts the reader, but the rancorous poignancy of malevolence occasions no such aversion ; for, as Tacitus emphatically explains it, “ [4] Flattery bears the mien of servitude, but malignity deceives in the “ specious shape of freedom.”—But I recur from supposition to fact : Julius Capitolinus declares that Herodian, cotemporary with Alexander Severus, was partial to the history of the brutal Maximin, who murdered him, from private enmity to Severus ; and Lucian tells us, that Ctesias invented tales for his Persian history, to flatter the taste of Artaxerxes, whose physician he was, as well as historiographer. Such are cotemporary historians, such their histories !

Jul. Capitolin.  
in Vit. Maxi-  
min.

Lucian. Quæst.  
Hist.

As to the question which the opinion of Bolingbroke has suggested, even these considerations apart, have we not sufficient pages blotted with the follies and vices of great men ? Have we no annals to refer to for the consequences of luxury, the progress of venality and corruption, and liberty undermined ? or are we yet to learn, that one and the same is the downfall of virtue and of freedom ; and that with equal pace individuals become vicious, and a community enslaved ? Writings enough exist, tracing the progressive depravity and servitude of great nations, lost to every sense of those virtues, and of that free spirit, which had made them great. The period of antiquity, characterised by a wild and impetuous generosity, by an enthusiastic patriotism, and daring love of freedom—that age wherein the virtues were indebted to the passions for more, than, ever since, the boasted aid of reason could afford them, has been delineated.

CHAP. neated but by few great masters, and for the honour of humanity not a line thereof should be effaced; I would not barter one page of the early accounts of the republics of Athens or of Rome, for the most accurate acquaintance with all that Augustus ever did, or thought.

SURELY in every mind there is an emulation of virtuous superiority, which, however for a time fortune or the meaner passions may hebetate its powers, still, at every example of success in the particular objects of its predilection, glows into a momentary [5] flame, which from frequent resuscitation may acquire an energy sufficient to push it to the attainment of that, which was at first regarded solely as matter of admiration: the idea of imitation, which has thus enraptured the fancy, may in times of perilous crisis somewhat elevate the mind, and influence the conduct; and if such effect may proceed from studying the examples of ancient patriotism and virtue, what other lecture can balance the utility of that, which thus animates the man, and urges him to noble and disinterested services in a good, great, and public cause?

THE history of intellect may be typified by the Ægyptian Nile, which long pours on, and hurries all away in one collected channel; as it advances it divides into various branches, and at length breaks in many and widely distant streams towards the great gulph; into which, according to their respective force, they for a time continue their way, till finally all are lost and confused in the abyfs. In the age of golden simplicity and ignorance, the objects and pursuits of mankind were but little varied; their thoughts were directed to their common necessities; their passions mostly centered in some common local prejudice or predilection; and whether shepherds or hunters, they pursued together

## B O O K   T H E   F I R S T.

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together one simple course, wherein the natural affections, and a sense of self-sustenance, and of self-preservation, united, directed, and urged them on.

C H A P.

I.

As the genius became elevated, and the judgment tutored by successive experience, and by the influence of general acquisitions of arts and of knowledge, the human mind proved its surest distinction from instinct, by the *varieties* of its tendency, its force, and its conclusions, in its progress to the superior objects of reason, the great truths natural, moral, and political :— at length refined, and pushed to the extremity, each research closes in error and in darkness.

IN this history of intellect and manners, there seems to have been an epoch, when mankind had a character happily combining the uniform and the various; viewing that period of antiquity, we seem to descry a landscape of a bold and massive taste of composition, contrasted with strong light and shade, and of a brilliant touch of colour, yet the whole simple and harmonious; whilst in the modern age we behold a scene flittered into a multiplicity of luminous spots, and gaudy without effect; perhaps it is too near the eye; perhaps it may be said, that the favourite scene of ancient history merely appears the more beautiful, as a picture mellowed by age, as a rude but distant prospect harmonized by the intervening medium, and losing all its abrupt breaks and deformities in the distance; whilst modern history, as it were, a foreground, appears spotted with weeds and reptiles, which belong equally to the further scene, but are *there* less conspicuous to the eye: yet surely in the old times I allude to, there was something essentially distinguishing the characters of mankind, and absolutely giving them a form and complexion differing from those of to-day!

M E N.

## CHAP.

## I.

MEN, when first called from the mere society of family and propinquity to more extensive duties, and a new sort of combination, were fond of the novelty, and the compact was regarded with a peculiar and almost superstitious veneration: *then* individuals formed a community; *now*, more properly it may be said, that a community consists of individuals: *then* the interest of the whole was deemed that of each; *now* the inverse is adopted, and each would operate on the whole: the genius of patriotism, which animated every breast, no longer exists; nay, the very instances of its existence are questioned; we wonder at past transactions and ancient stories; we doubt that the Greek Codrus, or Roman Decii devoted themselves; and that the elder Brutus should sacrifice the dearest ties of nature, to a sentiment we so little know the force of, now seems singular, if not impossible: yet Galileo cried “*et tamen movet*,” and would have died for a mere system, and millions of religious zealots have daringly perished in defence of opinions, themselves understood not; and shall we pay so little respect to our nature, to ourselves, as to suppose men capable of such efforts in favour of vanity or of ignorance, and not equally brave in support of the liberal and benevolent sentiments, the social and spirited principles, on which those famed establishments were secured, their united labours had formed, their reason approved, and their habits and their happiness required?

To display and to enforce such *social and spirited principles*, and, searching out the finer springs which originate these emotions of the mind, to account for, and thus to further authenticate the instances which history lays before us, will constitute in part the subject of the first chapters of this work: nor is the subject useless or uninteresting; if in these times of dissipation, and of perversion or disregard of all that belongs to public or to private virtue,—if in this age of profligate manners and of  
licentious

licentious policy, any example, or any lessons of morals and of patriotism, may excite attention, and may even have an effect, which ambition or vanity, in default of purer motives, shall give an opening to. Such seems the best use to which the earlier history of Athens can be applied. As the republic becomes powerful, and as the people become enlightened, as the constitution of government becomes first perfect and then corrupt, and as the arts of government become complicate and refined, the history [6] will in its due course furnish maxims of policy, and lessons of state: such as I have presumed more explicitly to suggest, are few in comparison of those which the subject may afford to a learned and enlightened reader; I have merely awakened his attention to this, or to that point of view; thrown out, as it were, loose hints of speculation; and thinking only so much for him, as to induce him to think further for himself, offered the text of this book as a thesis for the more abstruse workings of his own mind.

CHAP.

I.

Book II.

## C H A P.

## II.

## C H A P. II [7].

## OF THE POPULATION OF ATTICA—OF THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY.

Aristot. Pol.  
L. 7. C. 7.  
Xenoph. *παροιμ.*  
*πεποσμένον*.  
Thucyd. L. 1.

GREECE [8] was situated under a benign latitude, and whilst its inhabitants were but few, its spontaneous fertility easily satisfied its pastoral possessors, who with their herds roved peaceably from spot to spot, as its beauties or conveniences invited; and left it as satiety or its harrassed soil suggested the seeking a new and more fertile situation.

UNDER such circumstances of peace and secured felicity, no wonder that population encreased; and the bands of propinquity then from their too great extent being rent and broken, the detached parties became more in number, and the face of the country gradually was covered with a diversity of people, who retained but little sense of common family, and much of private interest.

Ibid.  
Diod. Sic.  
L. 2.

THE wandering herd now often found the richest pasturage pre-occupied, and a system of such appropriation being little understood by savages, who heretofore deemed the earth, as heavens, common to all; a claim to participate, brought on contention, and the victorious took possession of the lands, till such time as other intruders, with better pretensions of strength, expelled the first conquerors, and succeeded to an equally hostile and precarious settlement.

THE tribes broken, separated, and despoiled of their flocks, fled to the mountains, till emboldened by hunger, and urged by revenge,

# BOOK THE FIRST.

II

revenge, they ventured from their lurking-places in small but desperate bands, to procure a sustenance, and satiate their rage by depredation on their former invaders. The shepherds soon learnt to dread, and to defend themselves against, these new enemies: small bodies strengthened themselves by coalition, and all parties seemed studious of the means to repel or to annoy an enemy: arms were in every hand; habit inured to danger; and the glory of conquest too began to enforce its plea.

CHAP.

II.

THE most verdant mead, the most flourishing grove, the sweetest spring, successively blest the strongest; and all the goods man could then know, depended on his courage to attempt, or prowess to maintain them. The richest plains of Greece thus became scenes of continual war; and all the evils which the untutored barbarity of savages ordinarily annexes to conquest, conjoined to make the weaker entirely forego that bounty of nature, they could enjoy for so little a time, and with so much danger; other fields were they to seek, the poverty of which might ensure them from desolation, and rude and rocky surface yet afford a cave hospitable to the wretched; a possession unmolested as unenvied by their more potent neighbours.

Thucyd. L. 1.

ATTICA, a large tract of country, barren, and with few of those natural advantages which were, and might again be, the subjects of contention, seemed a proper place of settlement for these wanderers. Thus as Rome owed its population to crimes, so did Athens to misery; and by a singular fatality, the two most virtuous and most powerful republics of the ancient world, were founded by the wicked and by the weak.

Ibid.  
Strab. L. 8.

No longer could the people subsist from the spontaneous bounties of the earth; nature was to be courted for sustenance;

CHAP.

II.

the golden age of indolence was past, and man was to live but from the sweat of his brow. Every one subsisting from toil, industry soon put in a new and an allowed claim to property; he that had sown the grain, reaped the harvest; and prescription gradually cemented this corner-stone of political institution. If it was not a settled state, it was a fraternity strengthened by regulation; and its union and progressive arts gave this new people a decisive superiority over the brutal strength of any, who might dare to attack them in their place of retreat, and ravage the fields endeared by their labours.

As self-love is the parent of social, so are private affections of public; attachment, as it were, from our little home in the center, irradiates to the very periphery, and touches each point of the great circle of the commonwealth: herein behold the groundwork of patriotism! Fastened as men were, by the habits of peace and competence, to the same grounds when old, which their infancy had sported in, reciprocal obligation had time to take root, and the fruits were a grateful and diffusive benevolence; the interest, not of families only, but of men, seemed united, and whoever should attempt to sever those bands, was by all considered as having no claim to that society he insulted: peace was to all, but to him who invaded it.

It is in the barren soil that genius and industry take the earliest root; the sterility of nature proves a spur to art, and invention is awakened by the clamours of necessity: soon the human mind is indebted to its activity for still further force, and pursuing the paths which want or appetite point to, is captivated with the prospects opening on either side, and at length boldly deviates into the wilds of knowledge and pleasure.

THUS



## BOOK THE FIRST.

13

THUS our community quickly outstripped its once more happy and formidable neighbours, in the career of enjoyments, and of power; whilst ease and plenty were successively the result [9] of industrious arts, and mental improvements and social combination were more than a match for robust but divided savages.

CHAP.  
II.  
Isocrat. Paneg.

THE rough diamonds from the mine but little vary; it is when polished that we distinguish the beauties or dullness of the water, the flaw, or pure, or tinted brilliant; so civilization discovers the susceptibility and value of each mind, and in the infancy of policy, where no prescription hath sway, inequality of intellect effects a correspondent degree of command and subserviency.

Plat. Pol.  
L. 9.

ARISTOTLE [10] has set out in his Theory of Politics, with much study and pains, and much speculation on, and many reasonings for, this hypothesis; but surely every ox that draws the plough is sufficient justification of the theory: from man to man still greater is the subjection, whilst admiration locks, or gratitude gilds, the chains himself from conscious inferiority hath imposed.

Aristot. Pol.  
L. 1. Cap. 20.

MARK the picture of society which now presents itself to view:—Genius working not on luxuries or refinements, but confined to an investigation of the common arts and necessities of life; and weakness courting it for a participation of its comforts, and paying the debt of gratitude, or earnest of expectancy, with menial service and assistance.

Lucret. L. 5.  
V. 1090, & seq.

IN an earlier period, the cave was a refuge common to all, the acorn was to be plucked by every hand, and in the calm of general ignorance, spirit or activity for the course lay dormant, and their claims were not known, not understood, or not allowed:

## CHAP.

## II.

Diod. Sic.  
L. 1.

lowed: but now the man of reason culled new blessings from the earth, and where nature seemed deficient, found resources of happiness and ease in his own inventive faculties; nor is it wonderful, that those whose powers were inadequate to their wants, should purchase shelter in his hut, warmth from his fire, or sustenance from his roots, with obsequious attention to serve and venerate the benefactor.

Apuleius de  
Deo Socrat.

WITH deference to some over-learned men, who have made of late so many important and accurate deductions from mythology [11], we will venture to suppose, that *whoever* first planted a twig, or sowed a grain, or struck fire from a flint, thenceforward became a character divine, and that *every spot* had its race of deities, its Ceres, its Bacchus, and its Vulcan.

Diod. Sic.  
L. 1.

THE advantages accruing from the union of the wise and strong, were too obvious, to cease with the first projector; his name was revered and invoked by his adherents, and his temporal power and rule were delegated to the man, whom superior acuteness distinguished, or presumption [12] introduced; in the first instant of demise, those speciously advancing in the spirit of enterprise, were admitted to a competition with the wise and the expert; but as in those times the only title to rule was the conferring of benefits, of which every subject was individually to partake, and capable too of striking the balance between services paid, and good received; these intruders were speedily disgraced, and perhaps in the shock of public commotion, were detached from the general body, and with a few others whom sympathy or resentment connected with them, were left to rely on that strength which passion and self-confidence rendered at once unfit for rule, and impatient of subjection.

THEY

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CHAP.

II.

THEY retired to their old mansions of refuge among the woods and rocks; but the cavern was become damp and gloomy, and the winds had learnt to chill, and the sun to scorch, and late habits of life had shown, that such evils might be avoided, but present inexpertness precluded the means of avoiding them.

As in the progress of the individual from infancy to maturity, so in the history of the species, we find that the passions [13] have borne fruit, when the blossoms of reason but peeped from the bud : happily in the first instance, the earlier violences of the youth may at once be calmed and tutored, and even their effects medicated, by the interposition of those, who have at once superior reason to urge, and strength to restrain : but who is to coerce the savage, whose life fills up an impetuous moment of puberty, in the long progressive history of his kind ; who hath awakened at once to wishes, and to impotence ; to the passions of man, and scarcely to the instinct of a brute ? Envy without emulation [14], gloomy discontent, and the rage of unsated appetites (the feeble ray of reason directing to the object, without throwing sufficient light to develope its moral and proper use, duties, and consequences) what a dreadful animal must they form !—And such was man, when, in the case above-mentioned, he recurred to solitude, with the full harvest of wants and passions, he had known, and only known how to reap in the fields of society.

IN these times every district had its Cacus, and as attack necessarily enforces defence, every tribe had its Hercules. Thucyd. L. 14

IN the course of a few years, the imitative faculty of man must have made such progress, and the connexions within the pale of society have become so much more complicated, and the dangers Polyb. Hist. L. 6.

CHAP. dangers from without so much more frequent and important,  
 II. that the brave and the judicious might be supposed to supersede  
 the pretensions of the projector or artificer, with whom too  
 progressively so many claimed in common.

Aristot. Pol.  
 L. 3. Cap. 11.

THE patriarch ruler gave out simple laws [15], or rather maxims, to his people, decided their differences, repelled their enemies, and sacrificed to their gods [16]; he was their judge, their hero, and their priest; he was the only slave in the domain [17], for the black spirit of despotism was as yet confined within the magic circle of its duties, which when it transgressed, the charm of authority and pre-eminence was instantaneously dissolved.

CHAP.

C H A P. III.

C H A P.

III.

OF THE COLONIES ACCEDING TO THE ORIGINAL SETTLEMENT—OF THE  
ADVANTAGES THENCE ACCRUING TO THE COMMUNITY—OF THE  
HEROIC AGE.

WE have traced the first population of Attica, we have marked the progressive culture of people and of soil; and from a mere society of nature seen men gradually accumulate on the experience of their forefathers, and lay the groundwork of art and of policy, of the comforts of life, and of the means to ensure them: but the establishment had now attained that point in progress, that no longer urged by the same necessities, it was not to be expected they should continue the same speed in the career of improvement. Society was now in some measure formed and regulated, and each individual born to some fixed relation in it, cramped by the pursuits and authority of a parent, and restrained by the peace and love of order that prevailed throughout, could no longer innovate with applause or even safety. The short season of autumn may suffice to the vintage, but whole years are required to mellow and perfect the production: if some extraordinary casualty happened not, the future progress of this people was to be the slow and imperceptible work of ages: happily such casualty was not wanting.

Diod. Sic.  
L. 1.

It must be allowed, that soil and climate operate much on the constitution and temperament of the body; and the subtilty of the nervous fluid, the crassitude or tenuity of the blood and other juices, the relaxation or tension of muscle, (in a word) the texture of the whole frame, being thus dependant on, and varying

L'Esprit des  
Loix, L. 17.

D

with

with exterior causes; far as their influence acts, the animal man must differ in his strength, passions, and acuteness, and be accordingly fit or unfit for divers pursuits or modifications of the excellencies of his kind.

IT is true, that varieties of a very forcible description actuate individuals even of the same nation, and under like predicament of spot; acuteness directs application; imagination affords matter for the deeper speculatist; the politician reins and guides the impetuosity of the valiant; and every different force and temper of mind incompetent in itself, seems to strike fire by collision with the proper substance: thus arts flourish; thus science civilizes; and thus men, from a very discord of character, form the harmony of the social system.

SOCIETY will doubtlessly thus perfect itself in proportion to the diversities of its component parts, which by their various combinations and reciprocities, may enlarge the *materia medica* of human weakness, and serve the wants and luxuries, the hopes and vanities, the curiosity and activity of man. Though an isolated nation may from the resources of various character, and of force of genius within itself, make much progress; may excel in many arts, and push its enquiries far in knowledge; yet cannot it cope with others of more general commerce and heterogeneous mixture: let China bear testimony to the position; Has that vast but sequestered empire made a progress in human arts and knowledge proportionate to its duration? Do not the infant colonies of the west, the very republics of yesterday, outstrip her in the great career, and boast of theories and inventions she knows not, or if she hath known long, yet knows but imperfectly? It is the general commerce and intercourse with each other, that hath given the people of Europe this sudden superiority; a variety of national character hath forced new combinations on that

# BOOK THE FIRST.

19

of individuals; and Italian fancy, French wit, English penetration, and German assiduity, have from divers and distant habitations, met and united their common labours, and connected and modified their several qualities and powers, for the furtherance of every art of utility or entertainment.

CHAP.  
III.

ATTICA, in the remotest antiquity, boasted similar advantages; scarcely had she attained the first rudiments of art and policy, when various colonies acceded to the country, and holding forth a new horn of plenty, enriched her native stores with exotic germs of knowledge and civilization.

Thucyd. L. 1.  
Strab. L. 9.

THE religions and the sciences from the north and from the south, hailed each other in this central spot; Orpheus brought in the deities of Thrace; and the Saitæ met him, fraught with all the superstitions, wisdom, and policy of old Ægypt: the pristine inhabitants received this colony as a gift of the gods; cherished it; adopted its customs; not satisfied with merely affording an hospitable refuge, tendered honour and dominion, and finally seated the chieftain of these exiles on the country's throne: the mysteries of religion they incorporated with their own, and Neïtha and Minerva became one; and their own hereditary manners and distinctions they gave up, and anew classed themselves, according to the arrangement of duties and honours they were taught by these foreign settlers: as in Ægypt, the nation was now triply divided into the distinct classes of the literary noble [18], the countryman, and the artizan: so sudden was the step from irregular policy, to a system of good order, and good government.

Diod. Sic.  
L. 1, & 4.  
Pausan. Bæot.  
Plat. Timæ.

Procl. Com.  
in Timæ.  
Diod. Sic.  
L. 1. Sect. 28.

THE Carians too (a nation whom Herodotus [19] terms the most acute and enlightened of their age) at length forsook their piracy, and fixed themselves on the coast of Attica, long the

Herodot. Clío.  
Strabo. L. 8.

## C H A P.

## III.

object of their depredations ; they soon reconciled themselves to the previous settlers, and at the port Phaleron; laid the foundation of that naval power, which subsequently raised the Athenians to wealth, to conquest, and to empire.

Herodot.  
Terpsich.  
Strab. L. 9.  
Pausan. Co-  
rinth.

NOR was it to these exotics only that Attica paid the grateful debt of exact and anxious cultivation ; in this age of simplicity, the human mind, not refined into depravity, acknowledged virtue and rewarded it : in the succession of rulers, we find Melanthus called from Messene to the Athenian throne, on account of his valour and wisdom ; and with him many wanderers from various parts of Greece came to partake his government, and cede somewhat of their native rustic liberty to a system of general comfort and security.

Herodot. Clio.  
Thucyd. L. 1.

THE chieftains within the petty districts of the Peloponnese had now some time handled the helm of government, but with a rude and unskilful force : constant wars harrassed them from without, and perpetual dissention at home ; and from imbecility or disgust many yet forsook their native hearth, and went in search of an habitation more favourable to their peace, or to their pretensions ; and Attica was the scope of each adventure.

THOUGH in the course of human acquirements, the nurseries of these men were behind-hand with Attica ; yet minds rectified from error, or refined by misfortune, proved no useless lesson or unprofitable connexion : sympathy and similitude of lot, soon mutually attached these various exiles ; the diversity of origin, and habitual sentiment and prejudice thence proceeding, naturally induced discourse on their prior state, and reciprocal objections ; past failings and misery sweetened the intercourse with diffidence and complacency ; and as the rougher points and irregularities of two surfaces are employed to smooth and perfect each



each other ; so gradually did this commerce destroy the crudities of each national character, and form one compact body of reasonable men and polished citizens.

C H A P.  
III.

A LONG continuance of plenty and security is too apt to elate the mind, and carry it beyond the nice boundaries of prudence and contented virtue : when a state is from low degrees become thus full of rich and restive blood, better is it that the humour expend itself in ebullition, than recoil and ferment within, to the detriment of the internal commonweal, and perhaps to its very dissolution and ruin.

AT a time when the habits of converse and thought had quickened the passions and apprehension ; at a time when the minds of men were growing too active for rest, and too turbulent for controul ; when the wise and the valiant anew felt and claimed distinctions over their fellows ; when the ambition of some, and the envy of others, was succeeding to the virtuous and peaceable emulation of all ; the danger of relapsing into anarchy was imminent and great : but fortunately, the shade of chivalry arose, and beckoning each active genius [20] into her circle, preserved the internal state from that annoyance the wanton spirit of the age might seem to portend. Damsels ravished, and damsels rescued, make up the history of this period ; not even in the feudal lower age, was enterprize more the delight or admiration of all : the wreath of honour was then first snatched, and separately and distinctly worn from the crown of virtue ; whilst the dangers, and not the motives, of the achievement were considered. Throughout all Greece, says Thucydides, “ Arms were in every hand, till Athens renewed  
“ the example of civilization, and her citizens first laid aside  
“ the sword : so many wanderers then poured into Attica, as  
“ the only and peculiar seat of permanent and happy councils,

Isocrat. en-  
com. Helen.  
Diod. Sic.  
L. 4.  
Thucyd. L. 1.  
Plut. in Thef.  
v.  
Hom. Il. &c.  
&c.

Thucyd. L. 1.

CHAP. " (continues the same author) that she too in her turn was  
 III. " forced to colonize, and send forth her supernumeraries to till  
 { " the fields of Ionia."

*Mark the progress.*—Common security was the first band of union ; indigence instructed, interest cemented, and foreign population enriched and enlarged the society : from long peace and security sprang new distinctions among men ; influence in private life extended to ascendancy in the state ; individuals grew impatient of rest and of equality ; and ambition, like a famished tyger, was recurring to its own litter for sustenance and prey, when a providential casualty directed its activity to external objects. In the mean time, the commonwealth had peace, and leisure to find theories for practice, and draw practice from theory ; to widen the foundation of the state-system, and cement it so as to withstand whatever shock, till time and progressive reason should finish the building ;—the glory and bulwark of Greece !

CHAP. IV.

CHAP.

IV.

OF THE KINGS—AND OF THE FIRST ARCHONS OF ATHENS.

THE natural rights and liberties of mankind were soon felt, though late understood; and when, in this state composed of divers nations and people, the varieties of each had opened the minds of all; when reason and passion had shown a disposition to make stronger and earlier shoots in this heterogeneous soil; the love and fear of power were of the same birth.

FROM the earliest period of political authority, whether patriarchic or elect, the people were ever encroaching on its supremacy; and many of their kings, raised from a low degree to the throne, thought much too of their own duties, and their country's claims, and of their own just subserviency to the interests of the multitude, whose sovereignty was merely delegated to their care and fidelity.

Diod. Sic.  
L. 4.

FROM the dynasty of Cecrops to the monarchy of Theseus, little is there in the narrative worthy the speculations of the politician or philosopher: the monarchy of Theseus is particularly deserving remark; it was a new system of government, admitting an intermediate description of men, between the king and the mass of the people, to a share of power: the heads of families were by Theseus called to a seat in his councils, and vested with certain dignities, privileges, and immunities, which placed them in a kind of middle state, and constituted them at once depositaries of the rights of the sovereign, and of the people.

Isocrat. encom. Helen.

THE

CHAP. THE youth of Theseus was employed in acts of heroic chivalry; we are told, that Scyron, Pityocampes, and many other notorious leaders of banditti, felt the prowess of his arms; and on the death of his father Ægeus, that he ascended the throne of Athens under the auspicious favour of popular attachment to the brave deliverer of his country. Previous to the reign of Theseus, the people of Attica were mostly scattered over the inland parts of the country in diverse small villages; to obviate all disregard of the commonweal, which might spring from solitary manners, and from the growth of various dialects and customs, a coalition of these villages or families was the immediate and favourite object of Theseus; and calling them to a common settlement in Athens, he strengthened the capitol of sovereignty, he awakened the nation to a sense of public interest, and he opened the minds and hearts of all by a more enlivening and diffusive intercourse. Thenceforward he was honoured as the father of his people; and, says Isocrates, in his *Encomion Helenæ* (which more properly might be styled the *Encomion Thesei*) "it was a struggle between Theseus and his subjects, which should give most, the king of freedom, or the people of power." Having established, as he supposed, on a firm footing such civil and religious institutions as seemed for the benefit of his people, his old occupations of chivalry again allured him [21] into the field of enterprize, and he left his government to delegated authority. During his absence, that authority was so far encroached upon and diminished by the increasing interest and influence of the nobles he had created, and of the commonalty he had enfranchised, that on his return to resume the sceptre, he found it under a controul to which his active spirit was repugnant; yet loving his people too well to wrest from them that degree of freedom which gradually had been founded on the basis of his own principles of equal laws, and temperate administration, Theseus retired from the contest, and

IV.  
Plut. Vit.  
Theseus.  
Strab. L. 9.

Diod. Sic.  
L. 4.  
Thucyd. L. 1.

Isocrat. en  
com. Hel.

Plut. Vit.  
Theseus.

and went a voluntary exile to Scyros. From the epoch of this reign we are not to wonder then, that whilst other countries boast a long and successive train of heroes, we find in the list of Athenian kings but very few marked in characters of renown: the spirit of the people was ever in vigilant opposition to that of despotism, and splendid ambition found not means of eluding the caution of the public, and of wading into the fields of glory through bloodshed and oppression: thus the servants, and not masters of the community, their pre-eminence of character was in general confined to virtues which were the portion of many, and undistinguished as each individual star in the galaxy, though still making part of its beauty and its lustre: if any one king attained a brighter and more glorious name than others, it was by some act of danger to himself, or of benefit to the state, and which would equally have ennobled its meanest constituent; but from Theseus to Codrus we find few distinguished by any eccentric exploit.

CODRUS paid the debt of nature to his country; and under pretence of deference to the memory of this their heroic king, the Athenians permitted none thereafter to bear the same title.

Just. Hist.  
L. 2. C. 7.

HITHERTO the *Libido Regum* had full sway and authority; no written laws, or definite regulations as yet circumscribed the abuse of power; whatever restrictions might curb its excess, were founded on the comparative fears of the prince, the pretensions of the eminent, and the impetuosity of the multitude: but the time was now come when institution was to correct the system of command and submission, and to ascertain the adequate degree of each.

SOME authors have idly classed the first Archons with the Athenian kings, observing that a change took place in little

Meurf. de  
Reg. Att.  
Stanyan, Rol-  
lin, &c.

E

more

CHAP. more than in the title of the master : were this the fact, still  
 IV. was the alteration of moment ; even in the most enlightened  
 ages what prescriptive devotion hath been paid to mere words !  
 how much honour and authority have attended a title, even when  
 usurped through the worst of crimes and meanest of frauds !  
 Are there none, even *in a land of freedom and of science*, whose  
 hearts yet acknowledge the hereditary and slavish prejudices of  
 their forefathers, and who would cancel their very bond of in-  
 dependancy, and crouch for their all to some idol name ?

THE word *king* had in Attica, as elsewhere, a traditionary as-  
 cendant over many who knew not the purport of the title, or  
 the individual who bore it ; with the name, much of this blind  
 veneration ceased ; and respect, that great barrier against public  
 liberty, being broken down, the paths to an independant com-  
 monwealth were not less open than alluring.

IN truth, the change of title was not the only change that  
 took place on the death of the patriot Codrus : “ The Medon-  
 tidæ,” (says Pausanias) “ received the sovereignty [22] much  
 “ abridged of its former power, and ultimately made *accountable*  
 “ to the people, for a just and due exercise of the trust reposed :”  
 what these restrictions or qualifications of power were, we are not  
 told ; but they must have been manifold and strong, to have  
 rendered the last regulation of any effect ; for who shall dare to  
 meet the lion in his forest ? Can despotism be called to account ?  
 The hardy challenger, if such is to be found, must prepare for  
 death, or the state for a revolution ! But perhaps the proofs are  
 more than presumptive, that on the establishment of the Ar-  
 chons, their sway was confined to much narrower limits than  
 that of their predecessors ; and that an accusation was neither  
 uncommon in itself, nor dangerous to the appellant. The  
 usurper Pisistratus, pleading as a delinquent before the court of

Pausan. Mef-  
 sen.  
 Aristot. Pol.  
 L. 5. C. 12.

Areopagus,

## BOOK THE FIRST.

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Areopagus, seems to have had retrospect to some similar custom of the Archons, and to seek favour from his citizens by this deference to their prior institutions : other facts might be adduced ; but I think the future history of the commonwealth is sufficient proof of what is asserted : on the death of Alcmaeon did any commotion succeed, when the government was made decennial ? Did not the citizens, fearless of any evasion of this their new determination, confide the temporary sceptre to the same family which had borne it in perpetuity ? Was not this decennial government in force for seventy years ? and had any one of these Archons the hardiness or authority to extend the duration of their command ? Yet I find not that Charops' office differed from that of his brother Alcmaeon, excepting in limitation of time.

CHAP.  
IV.

Vell. Patere.  
L. 1. C. 8.

A TEN years command still seemed to preclude too many candidates ; and to the restless competition of the Ploutocracy [23] Athens was indebted for a further step into the regions of freedom : the Archonship was made annual ; and the power was divided among nine, invested with different branches of office, and with various duties and authority.

Ibid;

THIS Oligarchy severally acting with a vague and indefinite exercise of jurisprudence, and as differing as partial in their decrees, soon gave rise to faction, to party, and to discontent. The commonalty demanded some security for their persons and property ; the nobles wished to strengthen their order by unanimity ; and the alien deprecated the judgment, which unrestricted might echo to the call of native affections, and of domestic interests : thus all united to require written and irrefragable rules of jurisdiction.

Aul. Gell.  
L. 11. C. 18.

CHAP. DRACO [24] was summoned by the general voice of his  
IV. countrymen to be their legislator; and his *Thefmoi* (though  
the few remaining, I think, by no means speak him equal to  
the sublime trust he was honoured with) for a time gave quiet  
and harmony to the republic.

Aul. Gell.  
L. 2. C. 10.

CHAP.



CHAP. V.

OF THE LEGISLATION OF SOLON.

CHAP.

V.

THE sophist deep in midnight lucubration exults over the solution of his problem, and looks down on the pursuits of others with derision and contempt; respect indeed seems due to the operations of intellect, in preference to the more mechanical labours of the body; but if (as we ought to do) we measure the value of every occupation by its comparative usefulness to society, the recluse studies of many will appear to be but a more specious way of trifling; and honest industry will bear the palm over such idle speculations, however fanciful and penetrating. Mental researches, when directed to proper objects, have the justest claim to our veneration; but let us proportion it to the benefits thence accruing to mankind, nor hallow those ingenious extravagancies, the praise of which has already allured too many adepts in science beyond its just and useful limits, into some wild and unprofitable search, after a truth without consequence, or system without foundation.

Of all employments of the mind, surely that is the worthiest, and, as it were, divine, which tends to establish order in society; to humanize the great Leviathan; to adapt the various parts of the vast machine of social government, and nicely fit each spring where it can best act, each wheel where it can best move, to the intent and good purposes of the general combination; to duly weigh and obviate the friction that might impede, or material which might swerve to the detriment of the diverse parts, till the whole proceed in just and invariable concert!

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THE legislator must be experienced, to know mankind ; and wife, for he is to direct them ; he must be virtuous, for precepts are to be recommended by example ; and brave, for innovation is to be enforced with courage ; and, after all, says the younger Pliny, “ *Neque cuiquam tam clarum statim ingenium est, ut possit emergere, nisi illi materia, occasio, fautor etiam commendatorque contingat :*” to few as superiority of genius is allotted, to fewer is allowed the opportunity of exerting it.

Plut. Vit.  
Solon.

IT was soon found, that the regulations of Draco were inadequate to the great purpose of harmonizing the discordant interests of the citizens of Athens : the rich and the poor still combated with the respective force of authority and numbers ; and those who were in a middle state of competency, disrelished a situation which was to include them in the conquests of either party, the slaves of a despotic faction, or the prey of a lawless multitude.

Ibid.  
Diog. Laert.  
Vit. Solon.

Isocrat. Paneg.

ARTS of every kind had made a quick progress ; the pirates from Caria had introduced the knowledge of navigation ; and the parentage of its citizens in foreign countries, had given Athens early notions of profiting by a connexion with diverse and distant parts : trade soon gave birth to inequalities of opulence and power ; and now in this general mart, this seat of rivalry and commerce, the encreasing love and examples of luxury demanded the readiest and quickest road to wealth : project might enhance on the profits of trade, and a well-concerted scheme suddenly place the lowest citizen on a level with the most wealthy ; thus many, of a voluptuous or ambitious spirit, strained their every faculty in some novel and visionary pursuit.

Plut. Vit. Solon.

THE rich favoured this destructive spirit of enterprize, by advancing necessities for these undertakings ; the returns of which

which being found most precarious, the interest for loans was encreased, till, in fine, even a small debt became the groundwork of an insolvency; and under severe laws of credit, thought necessary in a commercial commonwealth, very many were at the mercy of their fellow-citizens. It was a law, that the debtor, whose pecuniary means were insufficient, was to repay the loan by corporal service; but as the interest of the debt was out of all proportion to the principal, well were it, if a discharge of that, and by the severest servitude, could appease the taskmaster, and prevent other wanton, and yet legal, exercise of his resentment. Under such circumstances [25], some even of the most wealthy, but who had avoided all usurious practices, dreaded the croud of instruments of ambition, which others of their order had under their controul, and which, by a conditional or a favourable treatment, might be engaged or conciliated to abet any treacherous schemes of usurpation on the part of their aspiring masters. Joining with those of the middle state, they sought to anticipate a crisis by a new regulation of the commonwealth: they united their efforts to influence the body of the people; the virtues and wisdom of Solon had rendered him eminently conspicuous, and, not as usual by ballot, but by general suffrage, he was declared Archon and lawgiver.

Plut. Vit. Solon.

Ælian. Var. Hist. L. 8. C. 10.

SOLON being asked, "How injury or injustice might be forbidden a place in human society;" answered, "By teaching *all* to feel the injuries done to *each*."—To fix such social interest, such philanthropy on institution; to direct equally the hopes and fears, equally the reason and passions of *all*, to the same object, to the security of *all*; in a word, wisely to profit of the connexion of self-love and social, and by making each man a citizen, to make each citizen a patriot, seems to have been the great object in view throughout the legislation of Solon. To this effect, this great lawgiver resorted, not, in poverty of political

Diog. Laert. Vit. Solon.

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political resource, to the simple fabric of an unqualified democracy; but imagined and reduced to system a commonwealth, wherein virtue, wherein property, and every substantial discrimination from character or possession, was acknowledged and preserved; and the best principles of aristocratic and popular government were combined by institutions equally favourable to subordination and to liberty, to civil gradations, and to the rights of mankind.

Xenoph. Pol.  
Ath.  
Aristot. Pol.  
L. 2. C. 10.

IN the assembly of the citizens at large, Solon vested the last resort of justice, and of policy, and of election; for the interests of the whole were concerned in the sentence, or decision, or choice: within the higher order or ranks of men, he distributed the great trusts of executive power; for a liberal education and independance he deemed requisite to office, and the distinctions of birth and character might give authority to the discharge of it. He divided the people into four classes [26], regulated by a census of property: the Archonship, with other offices of exence as well as dignity, were limited to the first class; the lesser magistracies, and municipal and military offices, were open to those of the second and third; those of the last, termed "*Thetes*," were incapacitated from holding places of public trust; but from their voice in the assembly they had, with their fellow-citizens, a common interest, importance, and security.

Plut. Vit. Solon.

Ibidem.

To the Eupatridai or nobles he confined the great council and judiciary court called Areopagus, and bestowed on it every honour and dignity: to equiponderate the balance, he on the other side constituted a senate annually to be chosen from the several tribes; and in this were resident the greater political power and authority: all matters, whether of revenue, or legislation, or war, or peace, previous to a reference to the people, were herein proposed, argued, and explained; and rejected, or drest

Xenoph. Πολ.  
Ἀθηναίων,  
Cap. 3. § 2.  
Plut. Vit. Solon.

dress but for debate in the assembly, as should seem most fitting and salutary: this senate, moreover, not only debated on the expediency of such laws, as it might seem from time to time necessary to introduce into the constitutional code, ere they were proposed in the assembly; but occasionally enacted laws, which laws were to be in force for a year, during which period of probation, their good or evil tendency became obvious to the people, who accordingly annulled, or confirmed them.

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As the Areopagus was composed only of the most eminent of the Patricians, of such as had gone through the Archonship with credit and applause; so the senate was a compound of the best men of the whole community; the candidates lives were strictly examined into, by the guardians of their respective tribes; and again, previous to the ballot, they were to be approved of by the Archons; nay, so pure were those standing for senatorial or other official departments expected to appear, that if any, without other crime than that of insolvency to their creditors, surreptitiously evaded the scrutiny, and thus gained a public place of trust, death was the penalty of their presumption. Even ebriety in an Archon was a capital offence; but, on the other hand, his good fame as well as person were protected by laws adjudging to death the man who should calumniate or insult him. Under such precautions, the reader will observe, that the *ballot*, far from being a ridiculous mode of forming a magistrature, preserved impartiality in the state, gave discontent the colour of irreligion, and to every virtuous and sensible citizen, and to only such, opened a claim to office and a probability of success.

Plut. Vit. Solon.

Arist. Pol. L. 2. C. 12.  
Æschin. Orat. in Timocrat.

Demosth. in Leptin. & in Timocrat.

Plut. Vit. Solon.  
Ulpian. in Midiam. Dem.

Demosth. O. rat. de falsâ Legat.  
Æschin. cont. Ctesiph.

\* IT was the Prætorship and other offices and powers which in aftertimes were bestowed by suffrage, and not those drawn by lot, that proved ruinous to the republic.

Hist. sparsum.

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Plut. Vit. So-  
lon.  
Aristot. Pol.  
L. 2.  
Xenoph. Pol.  
Ath.

As the voice of the senate might be supposed for the most part to have sufficient weight with the people to influence and direct their resolutions, each meaner denizen might seem too little interested in, and, as it were, estranged from the commonwealth; in order therein to give him a further self-consequence from public occupation, a judicial capacity [27] was assigned to all whose irreproachable morals and conduct permitted the claim; and their names were drawn by lot for the several juries in the different courts of judicature.

Xenoph. Pol.  
Ath. C. 2.

It was strongly inculcated, that office was not to be courted as giving power and ascendancy; its powers originated in, and belonged only to, the constitution; and its duties, and duties only, were considered as properly belonging to the magistrate, or minister confided in: the more forcibly to instil this idea, and to wipe the blot of injustice too from this distinction, each man in office, from the Archon to the juryman, received a daily stipend [28] for his services and attendance; and thus too the poorer but good citizen, saw not his family distressed from the sacrifice of his private vocation to public duties.

Plut. Vit. So-  
lon.

VARIOUS were the laws framed, more particularly to inculcate, that the state belonged to every man, and every man to the state: the debtor's effects might be seized, but his person was sacred; for his goods and chattels were private property, but himself belonged to the republic: exception was made in the distrein to implements of husbandry and art; for idleness was at Athens a crime, and to admit crimes of necessity were to foster the most absurd paradox. In order further to encourage industry, it was enacted, that no son should be obliged to support a father in his old age, who had not taught that son a trade; by which law all were induced to cultivate trade, and thereby ultimately

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ence might be supposed to build, as on its proper basis ; he made a new distribution of the lands of Attica, and by agrarian institutions obviated any future infringement on that distribution.

Athenæ. De-  
ipnos. L. 5.

To prevent conspiracies [30] of the discontented and factious, or at least to prevent large and seclusive meetings unknown to the state, the numbers of guests at feasts and entertainments were limited ; and every where, and at all times, there was free access to the public cenfors : if any civil commotion occurred, neutrality was subject to such severe and heavy penalties, that action seemed eligible even to the timid ; and thus all being made parties, any particular combination might more readily be crushed.

Aul. Gell.  
L. 2. C. 12.

De Oratore &  
in Bruto.  
Liv. Hist. L. 2.

It belongs not to this comment to particularise the private laws of Solon ; every author of note bears witness to the veneration they were held in by antiquity : Cicero is a very enthusiast when he speaks of this great legislator ; Livy tells us, that when Posthumius, and others, were sent into Greece by the Decemvirs, they were ordered “ *Inclytas leges Solonis describere, aliarum Græciæ civitatum instituta, mores, juraque noscere* :” and Tacitus having enumerated other great lawgivers, proceeds in climax to “ *Quæfitiores, Leges Solonis*.”

Tacit. Annal.  
3. § 26.

THE opinions of the great ancient writers, on the more public part of Solon’s institutions, merit a particular attention ; as I think the bent and scope of his legislation hath been often mistaken ; and, as to understand the future revolutions within the state of Athens, it is necessary that the grounds we set out from should be accurately and distinctly marked out.

ACCORDING to the opinion of Aristotle, the commonwealth of Solon was a compound of three several forms of government ;

ment [31]; says he, "Solon happily combined the states of  
 " his republic, in the council of Areopagus having constituted  
 " an oligarchy; in regulations of election to executive powers,  
 " an aristocracy; and in the last resort of justice, a democracy:"

thus this state was by no means simply that which we understand by the word "*Democracy*;" which (under the acceptation deducible from its etymology) never was a constitution of government, but the perversion of a constitution of government. Says the same author, "the eccentricities or perversions of political constitution, are, tyranny of monarchy; oligarchy of aristocracy, and democracy of a republic; neither of which tends to public good." He terms the commonwealth of Solon *Politeia* or *Republic*; "and such," says he, "ever tends to the public good:" or inversely, as himself hath stated it, "when the community is governed by institutions tending to the welfare of all, the name common to every such state is a republic." Aristotle, in his strictures on the Legislation of Solon, further observes, "that he seems not to have much innovated on the old constitution of senate and magistracies, but simply to have enfranchised the people, and to have touched the ancient institutions only so far, as seemed necessary to promote and secure that enfranchisement." Plato places the commonwealth of Solon, yet wider of democracy: he says, in his funeral oration [32], "the constitution of state by which heretofore we were governed, and in most respects are, and ever have been, is an *Aristocracy*; some may call it a Democracy, or what they will, but in truth it is an *Aristocracy founded on public estimation*:" the nervous expression of Plato is peculiarly happy and applicable; for the regulations requiring a competency of character and property in those pretending to the executive government, rendered it truly aristocratic; whereas it yet was dependant, in the first instance of its formation, on the choice

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Aristot. Pol.  
L. 2. C. 10.

Aristot. Pol.  
L. 3. C. 5.

Ibid.

Aristot. Pol.  
L. 2. Cap. 10.

Plat. Menex-  
en.



CHAP. choice of the people, and in the second instance, of its demise, on  
 V. their retrospective approbation and judgment.

Plat. Polit. 8. PLATO, in his treatise of an imaginary commonwealth, enumerating five different forms of government, the Aristocratia, Timarchia, Oligarchia, Democratia, and Tyrannis, expatiates on the characteristics of each ; and then, giving scope to his fancy, places in apposition to each respective institution, the character of an individual ; with the Aristocratia, the man of virtue and wisdom ; with the Oligarchia, the man fraught with envy, avarice, and pride ; with the Timarchia, the man of ambition and honour ; with the Democratia, the turbulent, loose, and licentious man ; and with the Tyrannis, the man of imperious and vindictive temper. The Timarchia, or government of honours and nobility, Plato lays as a medium betwixt the aristocracy and oligarchy, and the aristocracy he prefers to all : but Plato's Aristocracy is a free republic, wherein virtue has the only pre-eminence ; and his Timarchia is the aristocracy of other politicians ; whereas his Democracy is no constitution of government at all, and scarcely even implies a community ; the philosopher supposing each constituent to act severally and individually, without attention or regard to what is doing by the rest of the society, even on the essential points of peace and war ; “ *Nor do*  
 Plat. Polit. “ *they heed laws* [33] written or unwritten, to effect that no  
 “ one may have a controul over another :” such state is a mere anarchy, and, as the great writer justly observes, must probably end in a tyranny, as soon as any one man may attempt it, whose qualities and character are suited to the extending ascendancy with the people to usurpation of supreme power.

Polyb. Hist.  
 L. 6.

POLYBIUS makes a just distinction, when he mentions the Oclocracy, or “ mob-government,” as a corruption of the Democracy,

cracy, when taken in the acceptation of some writers." The Democracy, *as it has been called*, of Solon, when established by Clisthenes, was of the best kinds of republic; and the evils that ensued, in the course of Athenian history, from the flux of morals, and the concomitant innovations on the original polity, are not to be placed to the account of the first institution. To recall the republic to its ancient manners and ancient laws, was all that even the good old reformer Isocrates desired. Says he [34], "I foresee but one resource capable of averting the misfortunes impending over us, and of remedying the present evils we labour under; let us recur to that pure *democracy* as instituted by Solon, the friend of freedom and of his country, and as established by Clisthenes, when he expelled the tyrants, and united the people of Athens."

Isocrat. Arch.  
Orat.

Whatever *term* Isocrates, and whatever *term* even Solon (if his letter to Cræsus be genuine) *may have chosen to adopt*, as Plato expresses it; from the great authorities above cited, it appears to have been both *his* and *their* meaning, that the commonwealth of Athens was originally a mixed republic: that it had a tendency, however, to become, in process of time, a more popular and democratic state, will appear from a summary review of the powers vested in the people by their great legislator. To the public assembly of the citizens were assigned public deliberation on questions of the commonweal; a negative in legislation on the edicts, or propositions of the senate; debate and ultimate decision on subjects of general policy; the assessment and disposition of revenue; direction of its application, and revision of its management; the last resort of justice in cases of public delinquency; and the election to military command, and to some civil offices, in cases wherein the institution preferred the course of suffrage; and (what was the most important in its consequences) the election in all cases when a general sense of peculiar

Ep. Solon. ap.  
Diog. Laert.

liar

liar exigency and peculiar merit called for a supercession of the ordinary mode by ballot; yet with attention to regulations of census and legal disqualifications, which could not be dispensed with from any sentiment of danger or predilection which a particular occasion or character might suggest. Draco was called to the archonship by popular suffrage, so was Solon, and so was Aristides afterwards.

To such extensive powers, and lodged in such hands, it might be observed, that no distinctions arising from property, from birth, or from character, could form a proper balance; that every regulation to the prejudice of popular interests, or popular will, was merely matter of sufferance; and that the scales of a mixed and qualified constitution of government were no ways equipoised: I will add, that, as the steelyard sunk ever so little, the weight must slide down the beam, and give yet greater momentum to the power which had the undue influence. Thus monarchies become tyrannies, and aristocracies become oligarchic: when this influence is the influence of the people, it is more certain in its effect, and more dangerous to any constitution of government, than the aristocratic or monarchic, or any other branch thereof whatever; for the obvious reason, that the greater numbers of the people to the political, add a *natural force and consequence in themselves*, which a prince, or a faction of nobles, must depend for upon *others*. All governments in which there is admitted a *legal* and *direct* power of the people by themselves or representatives, hence have been, and, I think, ever must be dissolved, by that power exceeding its original and legal limits, or by its extending, through its own authority, those legal limits, which is the same thing; and which we shall find was the case at Athens, where, to use the force of Aristotle's expression, the Politeia was perverted into a democracy; a loose and licentious state, wherein the passions of the high and mean spirited are ever

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at variance; wherein all the varieties of the human composition act, and are acted upon; and wherein the dissensions of the rich, the needy, and of a thousand intermediate descriptions of men, give an opening to, or rather necessitate, factions, intrigue, and corruption: till some artful and enterprising man, through great qualities and actions, or through deceit and speculation, or jointly by honourable and by indirect means, acquires a credit and ascendancy with one party of the people, which empowers him to direct, to lead, to command, and, perhaps, to enslave the people in general, and his partizans with the rest.

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THE examples to the theory contained in these observations are frequent and forcible. In the immediate course of this work—like to the six verses prefixed to a canto of Spenser or of Ariosto—the story of Pisistratus stands forth an epitome to the comprehensive history of the republic.

How blind is man! how dark seem the paths through which a beneficent Providence often conducts him to success! Whilst we peruse the innumerable examples upon record of slight misfortune conducing to much prosperity; of the miseries which in the lives of many have proved agents to their superior happiness; of states elevated through the improbable means of depression; we ought not, in the apparently evil situation of ourselves or country, to cherish our despondency by specious calculation or presumptuous foresight; but rather look up to the divine will in thankfulness,—

— *Quod liceat sperare timenti!*

Lucan. Pharsal. 3.

It was scarcely possible that the habitudes of subserviency and command should suddenly be eradicated; and private discontent was more likely to find fresh plea for faction in, than to be quieted by, new arrangements. When Solon pruned the

G

privileges

CHAP. V. privileges and power of the oligarchy, the resentment must have been great; when he bestowed new liberties on the people, the gratitude might have been little. It was in the temper and frame of human nature, for the few to remember the loss, and for the number to be careless of the gift. In fine, it was not probable that order and freedom should be suddenly established amongst a people accustomed to the alternatives of turbulence or submission; the more perfect the system, the less constant adherence thereto was to be expected from the wavering qualities of indolence, avarice, servility, and ambition. *It was the usurpation of Pisistratus that prepared a strong and adequate foundation for the commonwealth of Solon.*

Diog. Laert.  
Vit. Solon.  
Herodot. Clio.

PISISTRATUS proved the best of kings; and by his authority enforcing due observance of the private, and of some too of the public institutions of Solon, he taught that great lawgiver's name gradually to be revered; till arrived at a proper maturity, the state availed itself of an opportunity to firmly establish the whole body of laws, and the constitution so wisely calculated to make them an happy and free people.

CHAP. VI.

OF PISISTRATUS.

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THE ready acquiescence of the Ploutocracy in the legislation of Solon, could not proceed but from the impossibility of immediate resistance to a measure they did not expect, and therefore were not prepared to oppose. His Agrarian laws; his *Seithacthia* [35], or remission of debts; their previous life of cruelty and injustice, which no act of amnesty could cancel in the book of conscience, however it might preclude public punishment, or private insult;—these, and many other circumstances gave birth to conflicting passions of various bent and force; but all pushing to the subversion of a government so obnoxious to the prior habits of vice and tyranny.

Plut. Vit. Sol.  
Diog. Laert.  
Vit. ejusd.

THE disaffected to this new commonwealth formed a coalition; and, had it not been for the more soaring ambition of some of the party, again had the state recoiled into all the evils of its tyrannous aristocracy: Lycurgus and Megacles, two of the most powerful and opulent of the rank of nobles, headed each their respective forces, in contention for the supreme power; and the maritime and inland inhabitants of Attica formed two distinct parties, adhering severally to the one and other of these great men, when Pisistratus raised a third party from the refuse of the mariners and populace, and bore down the whole weight of landed interest together. The hatred of the poor to the rich is the cause to which Aristotle attributes his so readily gaining the multitude in his favour; but it may be placed to the account of a general cause, ever operating in

Herodot. Clio.  
Justin. Hist.  
L. 2. C. 9.

Arist. Pol. L. 5.  
C. 6.

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Arist. Pol.  
L. 5. C. 2.

like manner under like circumstances. About the same time that Pisistratus became tyrant at Athens, Panætius usurped at Leontium, Cypselus at Corinth, and Dionysius at Syracuse; and all from having been demagogues and assertors of popular freedom. Of all the paths to usurpation, the most ready is through the favour of the poorer class; their numbers are at once greater, and no individual interest therein is of sufficient moment to break the combination; their intellect being confined to narrower limits, its seat and bent is more easily discovered by the artful orator; and, of nearly equal force and tenor throughout the list of individuals, he is not at the pains of searching for and combining the varieties of reasoning suited to different tempers and minds; and thus is his task less difficult; and as his art is less necessary, his fallacy is less obvious. The passions, too, of the multitude are easily awakened, and, undirected by penetration to distant objects, are contented to sympathize with those before them, and thus readily are worked upon by the well-acted part of an ambitious demagogue.

To these observations, it may be added, on the particular subject of the usurpation of Pisistratus,—that whoever, and however great may be the first inciters of commotion, it is in the mass of the people that then lays the ultimate resolve; the ties of government being loosened, the multitude feel and exert too their own strength; and to direct and take the lead in *their cause* (as they may be taught to consider *almost any cause*), they ever prefer some bold and insidious pretender to patriotism, whom, as the creature of their own making, in the figurative language of Plato, “*they sustain, pamper up, and make important and great; and when a despot is given birth to, it is from such stock that his honours and power bud forth* [36].”

Plat. Pol. L. 8.

QUINCTILIAN

QUINCTILIAN seems desirous, in his delineation of a perfect orator, of entering into competition with the wise man of the Stoics, by crowding into the catalogue of accomplishments, every virtue and every talent. Perhaps Pisistratus approximated the exalted character nearer than any of antiquity. Cicero calls him the prince of Grecian eloquence [37]. His epistles breathe the spirit of virtue and philanthropy: his bravery had been proved in a war with Megara, as well as in the enterprize that placed him on the throne: his wisdom was esteemed such, that his name was added to the list of sages of Greece: he was the first who instituted a public library; and the friends to learning and the liberal arts remember that it was, perhaps, to the erudition and care of Pisistratus that we owe the present existence of the Iliad: as a man, and as a citizen, we have the great lawgiver's express assent to his possessing the virtues of either in so eminent a degree, as to leave no room for censure, excepting of his ambition to be supreme; and when vested with the supreme power, each acrimonious reproof of Solon still closes with the confession, "that he was the best of kings."

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In Bruto.

Ap. Diog. Laert. in Vit. Sol.  
Plut. Vit. Sol.

Athenæ Deip.  
L. 1.  
Aul. Gell. L. 6.  
C. 17.

Cicero in Oratore.  
Ep. Sol. ap. Diog. Laert.

SOLON was much indebted to him for every mark of private regard and friendship; and his character as a legislator owed not less to him on the score of public honour and veneration; for Pisistratus not only adopted and enforced his laws, but recommended them too by the most condescending example, elevating the dignity of the Areopagus by his own public homage and submission to its authority.

Pisist. Ep. ap. Diog. Laert.

Aristot. Pol.  
L. 5. C. 12.

PISISTRATUS [38] was well apprized that habits of power are not readily foregone, and he accordingly banished the chief of the aristocracy from the city. He well knew that the idle would be meddling and tumultuous, and therefore necessitated every denizen to pursue some trade or occupation; but, as he

Herodot. Clio.

Ælian. Hist.  
Var. L. 9. C. 25.

likewise



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likewise foresaw, that commerce was not to be fostered but by a spirit of equality, and national freedom incompatible with his views of government, he directed the attention and industry of his subjects to, as yet much neglected, agriculture. Perhaps, too, he had the penetration to judge the career of the Athenians to have been hitherto too hasty; and remanded them to their primitive occupation, as not being yet sufficiently mature for the habitation of a great city,—to grace injustice with policy, to adorn corruption with elegance, and to clothe, as it were, the nakedness of vice.

PISISTRATUS underwent many reverses [39] of fortune. I have but little regret that materials are wanting for a description of the petty wars and details of government during the seventy years of the decennial archonship, or the times immediately succeeding; but I lament that the vicissitudes of the life of Pisistratus have not been sufficiently particularised to afford "*the spirit of character and event.*"

Herodot. Clio.

Arist. Pol. L. 5.  
C. 12.

WERE we acquainted with a minute detail relative to Megacles connecting himself with his competitor Lycurgus to expel their common enemy; his recall of that enemy to worst his prior opponent; the second expulsion of Pisistratus, from motives of family resentment and domestic intrigue; and, again, his restoration to the regal seat;—had we, I say, a just and particular account of each fact and agent of this wondrous little history, so much political theory might be found to concenter in it, as to merit not a chapter, but a volume.

As much virtue and as much wisdom have often been employed to effect a purpose in common life, as to manage a ministerial business; and the memoirs of one, whose hours are chequered with the functions and difficulties of at once a public

## BOOK THE FIRST.

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lic and private station, most justly engage the avidity of the reader: how much, then, would his attention be fixed to the interesting lesson of a commonwealth repeatedly wavering to domestic incidents, and public and private interests, reciprocally influencing, and depending on, the one, the other?

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VII.

## C H A P. VII.

OF HIPPARCHUS—OF ARISTOGEITON AND HARMODIUS—  
OF THE LOVER AND THE BELOVED.

Herodot. Clio. **S**O firmly had Pisistratus established his power, that on his decease, it descended peaceably and without commotion to his children; and we are told, “they were not less heirs to their father’s virtue and wisdom than to his throne.”

Plat. in Hip-  
parch.

Ibid.

Suid. in Hip-  
parch.  
Ælian. L. 8.  
C. 2.  
Pausan. A-  
chaic.

Plat. in Hip-  
parch.

WHATEVER might be the participation in government bequeathed to the other brothers, still superiority of merit, as well as the rights of elderhood, placed the chief authority in Hipparchus [40]; who having, under such a preceptor as Pisistratus, imbibed an early taste for the polite arts, pursued them through every branch of the mechanic to the more liberal, and to the most exalted: he planted and walled in the Academia for the use and disquisitions of the philosopher; he enlarged and amended the compilation of Homer’s Rhapsodies, undertaken by his father; and, to awaken new emulation among the Muses, his patronage was held forth to every servant of Parnassus; and Simonides and Anacreon were his friends. The city was a great part rebuilt, and every where adorned under his inspection; and as the progress of art displayed itself in the beauteous appearance of Athens, so equally did science show its influence in the polished demeanor of the Athenians.

THE prospects of temperate government and national tranquillity, which the growth of the fine arts and of urbanity so readily and so speedily adorned, were soon however clouded; and happily ere the minds and manners of men were thereby softened

tened and rendered pliant to the evils that threatened them. The king became a tyrant; his subjects were oppressed; resistance begat further oppression; till the enormities of despotic cruelty exceeded the sufferance of a people who had once been free, and yet remembered their state of freedom; and the first resentment of wanton tyranny, from a generous and daring spirit, “armed,” as the historian expresses it [41], “with the principles and lesson of the institutions of Solon,” afforded an example which roused the dormant sense of the powers, of the rights, and of the liberties which those institutions held out to the citizens at large; and they bravely and successfully asserted their claim to the possession of the commonwealth of Solon.

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Diod. Sic. excerpt. orig. Agirw.

CAN we suppose, when from the catalogue of emperors and kings so many are to be selected who began their reign with justice and closed it in tyranny—can we suppose, that for years they severally concealed a depravity of mind, and from the first, internally acknowledged the immoral tendencies which covered their future days with shame and ruin? Rather am I inclined to believe, that the plenitude of power hath been the first cause of corruption; that the most virtuous of despots have, at some sinister hour, unwarily admitted adulation, thence assumed arrogance, and thence (whilst they no longer duly poised the scale of relative duties and merits) have unfeelingly regarded the wrongs or miseries of those imploring their justice or beneficence. “The best of men,” says Herodotus [42], “may be corrupted by power, may lose their virtue, and even their habits of virtue.”

Herodot. Thalia.

TACITUS, in his Augustan history and annals, hath placed the change of manners in the several emperors of Rome, to the account of dissimulation covering for a time the natural humour and turn of mind, which, when occasion permitted, resumed its

H

original

CHAP. VII. original bent and force ; the sentence “ *Quæ reconderet, auctaque promeret,*” is fresh in every reader’s mind, from the quotation

Tacit. Ann. 1.

of an elegant writer of the present age. I cannot agree with Tacitus, and to refute him I revert to the details of character he has given us : if I could accept of any authority, I am sure it is that of Tacitus, but—to borrow a sentence of Machiavel, and I apply it not more particularly to this subject, than to every subject, and to this entire book—“ I neither do think [43], nor “ ever will think it a fault to support any opinion with reason-

Mach. Disc.  
L. 6. C. 58.

“ ing, without authorities on my own part, and without constraint on others.”—“ Nero, when he first came to the throne,

Ann. 15.

“ was the darling of his people [44],” said the tribune Julius Flavius ; “ nor was any of your soldiers more faithfully attached, *whilst you was deserving of our affection* ;” and surely Nero *deserved* that affection, “ when he considered how to effect

Ann. 13.

“ a general relief from all imposts and taxes, and gratify mankind with so noble and extensive a bounty.”

BUT the “ *vividus animus*” of Nero was not proof against the corruptive habits of despotism. Whatever Tacitus, in his refinements of penetration, may have imagined of the simulation and of the dissimulation of Tiberius ; I cannot suppose but that he *meant* to reign well, when on his outset he declared to an

Tacit. Ann. 3.

old enemy, “ wrongs done me when in a private character, I “ will never revenge in the character of prince :” and when he refused all adulatory honours and undue authority, advising the servile senate “ not lightly to change what had been framed in “ wisdom, and sanctioned by experience ; that their emperor

Ibidem.

“ had burthens sufficient and sufficient power ; that law was “ ever weakened, when authority interposed ; nor should ever “ the executive power be recurred to, in cases for which the “ laws had made adequate provision.”

How

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How greatly the mind of Tiberius degenerated, from the æra of this speech to that of his debaucheries in the island of Capri, I should likewise place to the account of seductive power: so too the depravity of Caligula, who at first was the favourite of the people, not more on account of his birth, or of his military education, whence he received his surname, than from that of his ingratiating manners: nay, the youth of even the bloody Caracalla was as amiable as his maturity detested; says Spartianus, "his youth was gentle, ingenuous, complacent to his parents, affable to their friends, ingratiating with the people, agreeable to the senate." Not to enumerate further examples, and from history I could enumerate many, I will close this subject with a fact cited by Pausanias relative to the despots, whose history is now before us; says he, "Pisistratus, and likewise his son Hippias, were distinguished for philanthropy, and their moderate use of power, till, on the death of Hipparchus, the mind of Hippias became enflamed and resentful:" Hipparchus himself was of the number of those whose virtues ceded to the baneful influence of unbounded power; from a vain attempt to corrupt the morals of Harmodius, he directed his attack to the chastity of the young man's sister; the youth enflamed with rage at the repeated insult, told his story, and intimated his desire of revenge to his preceptor Aristogeiton; Aristogeiton sympathised in his pupil's just resentments, and with ardour joined in a conspiracy to assassinate Hipparchus.

Sueton. Vit. Calig.

Ælian. Spart. Vit. Carac.

Pausan. Att.

Thucyd. L. 6.  
Arist. Pol. L. 5. C. 10.  
Justin. Hist. L. 2. C. 9.

We are informed that Hipparchus, three days previous to his death, saw a vision, which foretold him the consequences of his vices and injustice; Is it to be wondered at, that remorse found a spectre for a tyrant? or that an evil conscience should start at a shadow, and lend its fears the spirit of prophecy? "*Verane hæc affirmare non aulam, interest tamen exempli ut vera videantur!*"

Herodot. Terpsich.

Plin. Epist.

H 2

HARMODIUS

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Justin. L. 2.  
C. 9.

HARMODIUS accomplished his purpose of revenge, but fell in the conflict; Aristogeiton was seized and reserved for the sentence of Hippias, brother and successor to the deceased king: to every question, even when on the rack, he answered with the most determined fortitude; and being asked by the incensed monarch the names of his accomplices in the conspiracy, he directed his revenge to the most faithful adherents of the tyrant, and by firmly and invariably recording his dearest inmates in the accusation [45], blackened every future hour with horror and suspicion.

Plut. Vit.  
Lycurgo.  
Ælian. L. 3.  
Cap. 10.

Ibid. L. 3.  
C. 12.

Plato de Leg.  
L. 1.  
Æschin. Orat.  
in Timarch.

Diog. Laert.  
Vit. Solon.  
Plat. Alcib.  
eiusd. Sympos.  
Corn. Nep.  
Vit. Alcib.  
Xenoph.  
Symp. C. 8.  
Ælian. L. 4.  
C. 21.

THE connection of Aristogeiton and Harmodius, of the old man and of the young, or (as the Greeks termed them) of the lover [46] and the beloved, is so well known, and yet has been so often, and so much misconstrued, that a short digression on the subject may not improperly be introduced into this essay. That such connections were universally in practice we have the authority of all antiquity to prove; in many of the most virtuous republics, and particularly in Sparta, it was infamous for a youth not to be the object of affection to some one of maturer age; and yet Ælian tells us, that "if such intercourse were polluted, exile and even death were the penalties of the offence:" nor was the sense of criminality confined to Sparta; the general abhorrence thereof is expressed in the strongest terms by the divine Plato, in his first book of laws; and Solon in the Athenian code adjudged the convict to death without alternative. But had we not these and many other authorities for the purity of these attachments; were we not told of the chaste predilection of Solon for Pisistratus, of Socrates for Alcibiades, of Dion for Plato, and of many other great men for some young pupil or follower; could we yet suppose (and some have supposed) that these friendships were ever sullied with immorality, and that mere custom, in a word, could give the most horrid and disgusting

disgustful vice a preference over the dearest and most necessary instinct of nature ?

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I AM persuaded that the prohibition of the connection of slaves with boys, merely alluded to the particular but pure amity above described, and was suggested from the idea of advantages ensuing such correspondence, advantages of instruction and liberal document, which the young domestics could not *generally* imbibe, but to the prejudice of that humility so necessary to servitude, in a state wherein the slaves so much out-numbered the citizens. This assumption of principle is warranted from analogy ; Plato, in his Symposium, wherein the subject of these attachments is beautifully and morally discussed, mentions that the connections alluded to, were strictly forbidden within the provinces of the Persian king ; not that the purity of Asiatic manners was shocked at the apprehension of a vicious intercourse, but, in the words of Plato [47], “ It is on account of “ the despotic system of government, that a communion of philosophy and gymnastic exercise is degraded or proscribed in “ these countries ; whilst it is deemed inexpedient to the governing power, that the governed should become endowed “ with elevated sentiments, or acquire the force which might “ result from virtuous union and attachment.” What happy presages might each Grecian patriot entertain of the advancement of strength, of wisdom, and of virtue within his republic, whilst each younger denizen was instructed by the conduct and counsels of some adopted father, who was to instil into him the love of virtue, and of his country, then bless his work, and exultingly live over again in the public and moral merits of his pupil !

Plutarch. Diff.  
Erot.  
Id. in Vit.  
Lycurg.

Platon. Sym-  
pos.

It was by direction of their legislator, that in the gymnasia of Sparta, the older men attended to the progress of the youth in the

Ælian. L. 3.  
C. 10.  
Plut. Vit. Lycurg.



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the different stages of education, instructed them in martial exercises, and sharpened their wits by subtile question, till the laconic reply became as proverbial as Spartan discipline: that each veteran should fix his predilection on some meritorious young man, as fit object of his exclusive care and tuition, was no extraordinary effect of the institution; and the maxims of state wisely authorized and directed too the partiality; for favour too generally diffused loses that energy of affection, which might give greater zeal to each elevated mind, when forming the mind of another consentaneous to itself, and thence expectant too equally of gratitude and glory. From the school of Lysurgus, without the letter of institution, much of its spirit diffused itself throughout Greece, and the band of lovers under Pelopidas, was not the only band which displayed a reciprocative regard and emulation, on occasions wherein the cause of liberty and their country were benefited by their friendly union and exertions. The young man would bravely fall ere disgrace the lessons of his martial tutor; the old man would die rather than display [48] an example inferior to his documents: the attachment concentrated the strength of two in one; to desert, were to betray another self! Nor, warfare apart, was the connection of indifferent use to society within the pale of the commonwealth: nothing more conduces to vice than the too general commerce of the young with the young; reason in such society is deafened by clamour, lost in impetuosity, or subdued by passion, nor doth it resist the usurpation, whilst in example it finds a ready palliative to the sufferance: but the intercourse of those of different ages in life, meliorates the characters of either, tempering the moroseness of age and petulance of youth.

At a subsequent æra, when with the growth of public dominion and wealth, individual power and opulence keeping pace became unduly prevalent, and when the force of the laws be-

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came weakened in proportion to the enormities that called for their stricter execution, I cannot but allow that this institution was in some instances perverted; but it ever should be held distinct from practices which were repugnant to every institution, and to every code of legislation, notwithstanding their frequency, as intimated by the ancient philosophers, orators, and poets.

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Xenoph.  
Sympof.  
Platon. Alcib.  
Dial.  
Plut. Diff.  
Erat.  
Æschin. Orat.  
cont. Timarch.  
Theocrit. &c.

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## C H A P. VIII.

OF THE FINAL EXPULSION OF THE PISISTRATIDÆ—OF  
POPULAR GOVERNMENTS—OF THE OSTRACISM.Herodot.  
Terpsich.

AS the conduct of the two former kings had served to promote a love of order, and a habit of polished demeanor, calculated to obviate all danger of licentiousness or anarchy, should a state of liberty ensue; so did the odious tyranny of their successor make that liberty the darling wish of every Athenian.

Pausan. Att.

INCENSED at the assassination of his brother, and alarmed by the informations of Aristogeiton, Hippias showed vengeance the bloodiest paths of cruelty; and as suspicion found him objects, remorse envenomed, and practice hardened his mind to a familiarity with the horridest scenes of massacre and oppression. His subjects were vexed with new and accumulating imposts, and every citizen's competency was drained, and his necessities postponed to the luxuries and excess of a vicious court; whilst each noble, eminent for wealth or merit, hourly was in danger of falling a victim to the fears of the despot, or to the avarice of his adherents: many, under these circumstances, voluntarily left their native country, and many were driven into banishment, to pamper the creatures of the palace with confiscations.

Herodot.  
Terpsich.

EVERY passion united to urge these exiles to a recovery of their lost fortunes and country; and a connection of one of the families proscribed, with the Pythian priestess, happily suggested the means of success: this minister of the oracle, at their instigation, interested the Lacedæmonians in the enfranchisement of  
their

their city; constantly replying to each question of religion or state, with a previous injunction to deliver Athens from tyranny. Whether from the ambitious desire of some pretence to get footing on the other side the isthmus, or from other political, or perhaps from really religious motives, the Spartans promised the assistance required, and accordingly sent an army, but of small force, which was worsted by Hippias and his auxiliaries.

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No longer was the enterprize directed by the meek efforts of generous piety; national pride was concerned; the Spartans felt the indignity of the repulse, and to efface all memory of the defeat, repeated the attack with redoubled force, and sent their king Cleomenes to lead and ensure success to the expedition: fortunately his troops intercepted the children and family of Hippias attempting to evade the dangers of the siege, nor would they deliver up these precious hostages to the king, but on the condition of his immediately surrendering the citadel, and abdicating the sovereignty. Thus was Athens freed from the usurping family of Pisistratus.

Pausan. in  
Lacon.

Herodot.  
Terpich.

CLISTHENES, who was a chief agent in the revolution, gained great credit thereby with his countrymen; and on his return, riveting the affections of his fellow-citizens, and particularly of the lower classes, by a specious display of moderation and ability, he sought yet to strengthen his authority, by introducing new political regulations, which encreasing at the same time the power of the people and his popularity, might give him force wherewith to crush the factions of other great men, and particularly of his rival Isagoras: thus he instituted the judicature of the Ostracism, which rendered the pretensions of every distinguished character nugatory and self-dangerous, who had not (as himself then had) the ear of the people: to that people too he gave further weight and influence in the government, by

Ibid.

Ælian. L. 13.  
C. 24.

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VIII.Herodot. ed.  
Gronov.  
p. 309.Aristot. Pol.  
L. 3. C. 1.Herod. Terp-  
sich.  
Pausan. La-  
con.

encreasing the number of tribes from four to ten ; and the senate from four to five hundred, fifty being thenceforward to be elected from each tribe, instead of the one hundred senators from each of the ancient four. Herodotus expressly mentions [49] the additional power resulting from these regulations to the citizens at large ; but hath left us to surmise, “ of what nature, “ and in what degree was its effect :” the enlarging the number of tribes must have rendered more numerous the Phylarchs, and other public offices, and thus have extended the patronage of the commonalty, and the distinctions and emolument of place ; further, the tribes being more numerous, in all public business transacted by tribes, opulence and private connection might have less sway, and particularly as among the *Thetes*, or last class of citizens in each tribe, Clisthenes had procured the enrollment of many aliens, foreigners, and even slaves : thus the aristocracy were borne down by numbers, and the favourite of the people had alone authority in the commonwealth. Clisthenes now had the multitude at his disposal, and, dazzled with the opening prospect of power, sought to abuse the ascendancy thus acquired with the people, and to make them the instruments of usurpation, as Pisistratus had done before him. On stretching his hand out to the sceptre, it however met a competitor for the grasp : Isagoras revived the opposition to the family of Megacles, of which Clisthenes was a lineal descendant ; and on the faith of foreign assistance, he too put in a claim to the throne : during the prior expedition, the Spartan leader had been his guest, and in ancient times such hospitality was ever after a plea for favour or assistance, strong as the feelings of a long and approved friendship. Cleomenes gave a ready ear to the entreaties of his host, and immediately turning his arms towards Athens, expelled Clisthenes and his party ; and having pursued them beyond the boundaries of the country, returned to master the city, and model its constitution and state to the will and pleasure

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of Isagoras; but the Athenians had favoured the momentary taste of liberty, and were already become too high-minded to tamely yield their necks to the yoke they had so lately shaken off; indignant at the renewed attack, they united to repress the Spartan invasion, and to punish the few unworthy citizens who had joined in the attempt on the public liberties and welfare so hardily and so happily recovered.

CLEOMENES and his forces quickly gave way to the impetuous spirit of men who had newly regained their freedom: forced into the citadel, he for a while relied on the strength of the place; but finally the determined valour and assiduity of the besiegers enforced a capitulation. The Lacedemonians were dismissed in safety; but the Athenian delinquents were to a man put to death, — a propitious sacrifice to the ascendant day-star of liberty! — The example was efficacious: Clisthenes returning from his exile, coincided with the spirit and views of his countrymen, and all with emulative ardour abetted the re-establishment of the commonwealth of Solon; admitting therein the Ostracistic judicature; and the increased number of tribes, and in senate, as before mentioned.

Herodot.  
Terpich.

ERE I enter upon the career of glory and aggrandisement that distinguished the history of Athens, I must once more resume the subject of their constitution of government, as far as it seemed replete with causes tending to so great an effect. Those who object to the great powers thereby vested in the assemblies of the people, would probably say, “ Who ought to command, “ and to confer the powers of command, but the chosen few, “ whose rank and opulence have afforded the means of education, whose powers of intelligence and discrimination are improved and free, and whose capacity, exercised in varieties of “ private affairs and of self-conduct, seems so suited to regulate “ the

CHAP. "the conduct of others? Shall we indiscriminately trust our  
 VIII. "fortunes to the indigent, our honours to the mean, or our  
 "private happiness and the public weal to an ignorant multi-  
 "tude, whose ears lead but to their passions, affording a ready  
 "road to the rhetorical agent of domestic treasons, or of foreign  
 "interests?" To such I answer,—“You have built truly your  
 fairy castle, and would now brutify each inhabitant of the do-  
 main with all the whimsical severity of a magician in a ro-  
 mance! The intellects of mankind are originally of a much  
 nearer equality than you are willing to suppose: the diversities  
 whence you are about to deduce the argument of this specious  
 declamation proceed from the casualties around you;—to sud-  
 denly form a democratic body of the heterogeneous mass you  
 have in view, were absurd indeed; but the absurdity is the  
 creature of your own brain. When you again examine the  
 merits of this form of government, candidly reject such mislead-  
 ing premises; consider the democratic branch of government,  
 as well modified by cautionary combinations, duly curbed by  
 law, accurately bounded by institutions, and well framed on the  
 best principles, and well established on the happiest practice.  
 With equality of power, as far as policy *should* concede, suppose  
 equality of mind as far as nature *will* admit, unassisted by other  
 adventitious advantages, than such as are open to a whole people;  
 every argument respecting their insufficiency will in such case  
 fall to the ground, for these advantages are not less great  
 than general. May not a constant attention to public af-  
 fairs form the minds of many, as of one, to a versatility and  
 penetration fitted to all the varieties and difficulties of business?  
 or, without being statesmen or generals, may not very many  
 learn well to judge of statesmen and generals?—and this is all  
 that is necessary; whilst merit will have thus the means of forcing  
 its way to office, through public notice and estimation; and on  
 such ought its sole claim to rest. But you intimate the sub-  
 servieney

fervency of a popular audience to every fallacy of an artful orator! And do you really then think, that an assembly daily accustomed to all the artifice and force of harangue, is to be classed with a modern croud, opening wide their eyes, and mouths too, to the declaimer, as if ignorant from which sense to receive the novel taste of eloquence? “But may not the plea lay to “the passions?” Yes, to those of fame and public spirit; to emotions of glory and patriotism;—these in a learned and free state (and a free state will be a learned one), are the only passions open to the orator: if he hath a hold on more partial interests and feelings, the people are no longer virtuous, and cannot long be free:—our present consideration is of a people virtuous, as free.

I WILL not further dwell on superficial or wanton objections to the rights, to the judgment, to the voice of the people; objections founded in mere exceptions to the good sense of mankind.

ISOCRATES justly places the vigour [50] and renown of the Spartan government to the account of such of its institutions as were popular or democratic. There is ever a national spirit [51] springing from the broad latitude of competition which a free commonwealth allows of, that is suited to engage in, and to sustain, either a firm or an active part, as there shall be occasion of resistance or of enterprize. Much might be urged on this general topic; but I particularly insist on the great advantages accruing from the election to offices of state, and to command of the armies, laying within the immediate suffrage and choice of the people: whilst virtuous, such was the source of the elevation; though when corrupt and vicious, such was the source of the ruin of the Athenian republic. Says Xenophon [52], “as  
“are the leaders, so is the republic:” the inverse is equally true,

Isocrat. Orat.  
Arcopag.

Xenoph. περί  
προσόδων. C. 1.



C. H. A. P. — “that as is the republic, pure or corrupt, so will be its  
 VIII. “leaders.”

L'Esprit des  
 Loix, L. 2. C. 2.

IF a general [53] is to be chosen, the people well know whether any one among them has often served in war, whether he has filled the gradations of command, and whether he has been brave, judicious, enterprizing, and successful: if a judge is to be elected, the people know whether another has been an able and disinterested advocate, has been candid when on the wrong side, and has been firm when on that of truth and justice: is a quæstor, or officer of revenue to be appointed? Integrity, attention, and method, extend the character of another man from the smaller circle of his friends, to the conversations and to the confidence of the community at large. Having these inlets to a just estimation of characters, which no palace, I think, ever had, or ever can have, in equal degree; it remains to consider the probable account to which they may be turned by popular assemblies; still under the assumption, that they are incorrupt as free. Considering the subject in this point of view, when I anticipate its extent, and the diffusive argument which might swell into a compendious treatise,—on the passions and force of reason in men; on their individual interests; on those interests being comprised in a social system, and on the sentiment thereof becoming prevalent, where the individual interests, being too numerous to exist separately, become therefore more united; on the sense of safety, and on the opinion of protection; on the hopes of estimation, and thence on the favour to just objects of esteem; and on various other springs and motives to choice, which to properly elucidate, demand a laborious research into the deepest recesses of ethics and of policy: when I consider this, I am rather inclined to resort to examples and authorities, and briefly observe, what a glorious, what an immaculate series of splendid characters graced the Roman consulship from popular suffrage!

Ibid.  
 Mach. Disc.  
 L. 1. C. 53.

suffrage! Under similar mode of choice, what transcendent examples of wisdom, probity, and valour issued forth from Carthage; nay, from every petty commonwealth in Sicilia and Apulia, from Drepanon to Metapontum! what characters signalized the elections throughout Greece! and, finally, what great, virtuous, and able men stepped successively into the field of renown, during nearly a century, sent forth by the assemblies of Athens!

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PERHAPS too the very exertions and consequent success of these generals and admirals of the people are to be placed to the like account of the constitution of government: Their power and command were the result of public estimation, and its duration depended thereon: they had thus the people to satisfy and to conciliate, and often their period of office allowed but a short time to conciliate them; to gain the favour of their fellow-citizens, they thence pressed on each moment of their employ for new occasions of signalizing themselves, urged enterprize on enterprize, and the final result was conquest and dominion for their sovereigns, the republic.

Grand. & Decad. des Rom. par Montesquieu.

HAVING thus cursorily pointed out the tendency of the commonwealth to encrease of empire and glory, I venture further; and (a warm advocate for the liberties of mankind, liberties which political institution ought not wantonly to corrode or amputate, but medicate with the tenderest hand) I assert, that the free state of Athens, in the high perfection of its establishment, was the state the best calculated for general happiness, and that any true and good objection to it is founded, not on the immediate vices of such constitution of government, but in the presumptive [54] *brevity of its career.*

IN

## CHAP.

## VIII.

IN such state, the primary authority is resident in the many; but of force, the executive power must be delegated to the few; the *first* is in the hands of the people, whose will being once determined and promulgated, necessity from day to day more rarely calls for their interposition; the *second*, entrusted to their agents, requires unremitted exertion; as the one power becomes dormant, the latter encreases in vigilance; till at length the importance of the state yields to the consequence of private men, and the servant of the public directs the legislation he should obey; whilst the individual, acquiring influence from the magistracy, reciprocally communicates that ascendancy to his office: thus gradually the constitutional balance is lost; and the commonwealth, whatever of its laws or exterior forms it may for a while retain, hath deviated from the spirit of its system, and which constituted at once its vigour and consistency; which at once gave to the state moderation and force, at once ensured to the community peace and virtue at home, and consequence and victory abroad.

MACHIAVEL observes [55], in the first chapter of the third book of his Discourses, “ that the most perfect political arrangement is *that* which hath something in its essence fitted to obviate the dissolution of the state, by occasionally recalling it to the first principles of its institution.” Of this advantage a popular constitution of government seems incapable. When once such state is affected, the disease is not in the head that plans, or heart that wills, or hand that executes; the whole mass is generally disordered, nor is there a sound part through which the blood may return in a purer state to medicate the more corrupted; the pestilence spreads through the whole body at once, and with that progressive and sure venom pervades to the very vitals of the constitution, that to attempt a cure were vain: to ward off the infection, or to obviate antidotes to the  
first

first poison of it, may not be so forlorn a hope. In a mixed state, or limited monarchy, it is from the vitiated morals of its constituents, that government becomes infected: in a republic of which the democracy forms a leading power, the disorder originates in government; for the people must become idle, to become vicious; and must first lose attention to the commonwealth, to have leisure for dissoluteness and ruin in their private capacities: the depravity then re-operates, and the state-system once relaxed is broken or dissolved by the evils which its first loss of energy occasioned,—at the æra when the spirit of policy and legislation became lulled and torpid, perhaps during times of long and uninterrupted peace; or when, under the pressure of general calamity, it yielded up the sense of public duties to a confidence in, or to the influence of certain resplendent characters, too much, too long, and too highly elevated in the executive trusts of government.

KNOWING then to what evil, and to what part the preventative should be directed, is there a panacea of sufficient efficacy to ensure success? Surely not! perhaps the most promising was the species of exile adopted in various republics of yore;—the *Petalism* of Argos and Syracuse; the *Ostracism* [56] of Athens.

Diod. Sic.  
L. 11.  
Aristot. Pol.  
Lib. 3. Cap. 9.

WHAT ingratitude, to proscribe the virtue that hath long laboured for the public weal! What folly, to banish the man whose abilities might be, as they have been the support of the state! What ill policy, to send to foreign climes at once so useful a friend, and so dangerous an enemy!—Such are objections which occur on the immediate and first view of the subject; but they must as quickly yield to the stronger reasons in favour of the institution.

It from time to time snatched a dangerous prop from their affairs, and bade the people awaken to their own support and welfare ; it made men wary of pre-eminence, and often taking somewhat from the ever-growing matter of the executive scale, anew balanced the commonwealth.

PUBLIC protection implies particular submission, and he who subscribes to fixed ordinances or laws, by seeking security under their shelter, hath no right to deprecate their penalties or precautions.

No character, in a free and equal community, can be of sufficient eminence to supersede the interests of state, without danger that at some sinister period, those interests may be sacrificed to some partial or self-consideration : inasmuch as the whole outweighs the part, it is proper therefore to have the maxim ever in view, “ that individual concerns should cede to general welfare, and that a citizen pays but a just debt to his country, “ were even life the demand.”

BUT is not the secession of the old statesman or experienced veteran, fraught with politics and discipline, a loss to his country ? and if a resentful exile, may he not prove an accession to its enemies [57] ?

WITH respect to the pretended ability and knowledge, the superiority is more dangerous than useful ; in a wholesome republic (and we are not now discussing the subject of one corrupted) a sound and plain understanding is the most faithful, and surely an adequate, guide in the straight road of virtuous administration ; and whoever talks of the necessarily difficult and crooked paths of government, is to be suspected of meaning treachery on the way, and is to be guarded against, as one desirous

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rous of bewildering those he is hired to direct, that his insufficiency may be less apparent, or treasons more secure.

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VIII.

THAT the Ostracism might appear to some, and might sometimes be an unmerited persecution ; and that, in the bitterness of resentment and disgust, an alienation of good-will might attend a good man on his departure from the commonwealth, was to be apprehended : every circumstance was studied therefore to mitigate the evil ; property was preserved and remitted during the banishment ; its time was limited ; and the very exile was honour.

## CHAP.

## C H A P. IX.

## IX.

OF GOVERNMENTS—OF THE ENERGY OF A NEWLY-FORMED  
REPUBLIC—OF THE PROGRESS OF ATHENS.

THE distinctions or authorities on which man founds his claim to dominion over other creatures were of little moment, had he not the means of enforcing subjection and obedience: for this power he relies not on the firm texture of bone or of sinew; his strength depends not on the frame of his body, but on the ethereal spirit which animates it, on free volition exercising intellect, and reciprocally [58] intellect tutoring choice, till from the joint activity result force of thought, ingenuity, foresight, and courage; which latter is no other than self-confidence, deduced from the prior acquisitions.

THE more the mind is practised in this internal, or home-education, the more varieties are left to its deliberation and to its choice, the more elevated and perfect will it become; and the greater superiority [59] will it give over all other animals, whose faculties being confined to fixed and particular limits, are not able to cope with those who can indefinitely encrease their own, or command extraneous forces, to master in contention, or to assert in sovereignty.

THE same circumstances which distinguish man, and make all other creatures abject slaves to his appetite and pleasures, occasion too a difference in the same species; and relatively exalt an individual, and even a whole people, in proportion as mental advantages shall have been their respective lot.

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IN a despotic government, supposing even the administration to be just and wise, still must an inferiority in the point alluded to, be unavoidable ; whilst the higher class grow enervate in over-abundance, and the poorer multitude are depressed to a mere communion with the glebe ; the minds of such society cannot improve by the wholesome education of general exigency working with general liberty ; and long as the success of the number rests on the quality of its constituents, the Tartar will dethrone the Chinese, the savage will conquer the peasant, the free man the slave.

As the genius and spirit of men become torpid, or lost as it were, under the uncontrollable command of one, it is natural to suppose that an opposite arrangement will be of use to them, and that they will become superior by associating in such manner, as least to coerce the freedom of will, or hebetate by diffuse the powers of mind in each individual ; and a republic will most effectually answer this important purpose, the constitution of which favours the equality and independance of each, as far as may be compatible with the safety and union of all ; of this let the Athenians be my example : “ they (says Herodotus) [60] “ when under the controul of their kings, were of no account “ in Greece, but immediately on the subversion of the dynasty, “ they became great, and by far greater, than the people which “ had hitherto held them in so little estimation.”

Herodot.  
Terpsich.

It may perhaps be observed that this change appears too sudden, to agree with the previous theory ; that the Athenians seem rather inspired than taught ; rather elevated by some instantaneous than chronical advantage ; for they appear to have anticipated all the progressive wisdom of council on the first emergency, and all the energy of action in their first enterprize. Let it be remembered, that this people had been meliorated by  
vicissitude,



CHAP. IX. vicissitude, and the salutary lesson of transient evil, rather than benumbed by the oppression of a long tyranny; that some were even sufficiently aged to remember [61] the prior times of liberty, and joyfully acknowledge the star, which brightened the evening of their day, to have been the same which gave glory to its birth; many had passed in exile the interval of usurpation; and all had some particle of the spirit of their forefathers yet left—some tale to tell of the miseries of slavery, and of the blessings of freedom—some hereditary reasoning on private rights and public duties. To this, be it added, that the first outset of a republic is ever marked with peculiar force and vigour: as the limbs newly unshackled, so the mind liberated from the weight of imperious coercion springs with fresh elasticity and ardour to every object of activity: the people look up to their new compact; the sentiment [62] precedes the principles of freemen, and they first support, they know not why, what they afterwards find every reason to support: the spark of patriotism first catches, or rather electrically pervades the whole band; nor prematurely fails, but retains its light and heat till progressive virtue, wisdom, and felicity give it substance to feed on and extend itself.

THE Spartans, when they listened to the advice of the oracle, and freed Athens from the despotism of the family of Pisistratus, perhaps were actuated by religion; or perhaps, and more probably, were influenced by some political motive: that selfish state (for selfish we shall find it throughout the whole course of Grecian history, and the character may be deduced from its institutions) was never moved by principles of philanthropy, or satisfied with the sentiment of disinterested protection.

Herodot.  
Terpsich.

IT is to be presumed that some error in policy occasioned their ready compliance with the injunctions of the Pythian priests;

for soon as they saw the tendency of the exploit, soon as they found that freedom was a gift incompatible with retribution, that this singular present placed the obliged at a distance from the donor, and admitted not of the ordinary forms of submissive acknowledgment; they seem to have repented of their hasty interposition, and of having adopted a measure, which they too late perceived, instead of rendering the Athenian people subordinate from gratitude to them—or weak from divisions among themselves—had raised a spirit of union and self-confidence which portended rivalry of character and dominion: and be it remarked, that when Cleomenes again unsheathed the sword, no reverence of the will of heaven withheld his hand from annoying the people he had been ordered to succour and save.

THE result of the late attempt on the liberties of Athens, in favour of the pretensions of Isagoras, served but to irritate the haughty spirit of the Lacedæmonians; and the dismissal of the prisoners, instead of allaying their resentment, sharpened it with the sense of shame: such obligation admits no medium of gratitude; if it ensures not friendship, it enflames enmity. Cleomenes was now gathering together a mighty force; and other more neighbouring powers too sought to take advantage of the new and unsettled state of the republic, and, looking upon its wealth and territories as an easy prey, to join in the invasion and to participate the pillage.

THE Athenians saw, and prepared for the impending storm; every where they sought assistance, and even sent to the Persian to proffer their friendship and alliance, and ask an honourable and free support in this their distress: the great king questioned with surprize the ministers of this new people; and finally observed, that it became them better to talk of homage, than of equal amity before the lord of Asia; that he might be induced

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Herodot.  
Terplich.

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to protect them as vassals, but could not deign to serve them as allies : the ambassadors unwarily condescended to promise the offering of " earth and water," the abject acknowledgment required : on their return to Athens their conduct was censured, and the terms of assistance unanimously rejected.

Valer. Max.  
L. 6. C. 3.

THE Bœotians had now penetrated into Attica on one side ; the Chalcidenses were depopulating the coasts ; and the Spartan army, composed of the chief youth of the state, and inspirited by the presence of their two kings, had passed the isthmus.

Herodot.  
Terpich.

THE Athenians, contemning a merely defensive part, marched from their city, and prepared to assault the enemy with vigour : the numbers, discipline, and valour of the Spartans demanded their first attention, and to them they directed their first onset. The Spartans awaited not the attack ; their kings Cleomenes and Demaratus differing with respect to the invasion, or to the conduct of it, the dissention so infected the whole army, that it was not thought expedient, in such divided state, to trust a battle, and they and their allies precipitately withdrew to their respective homes ; and left the Athenians at liberty to repel the Bœotians, and to attack Chalcis ; both of which expeditions were crowned with success, and Athens grew up in renown and consequence.

C H A P.

## C H A P. X.

CHAP.

X.

OF LIBERTY—OF COLONIES—OF THE FURTHER PROGRESS  
OF ATHENS.

CIVIL liberty [63] consists in the secure possession of particular rights, station, and property, not to be affected but by the act of the individual who possesses them, or on the other hand without infringement of some political institution, tending to a dissolution of the state which ascertains and ensures them. When a form of government circumscribes the latitude of concession to its subjects of equal rights and participation, *civil liberty is confined*; when its policy and laws are inadequate to regular administration, *civil liberty is insecure*. The pretensions of a just and wise legislation are, so to measure out its proportions of benefit and security, and so to temper public force with individual happiness and ease, as to leave as little controul for the free-spirited, and as little licentiousness for the man of a quiet and homely turn to make the subject of anxiety, as are compatible with each other, and as absolute necessity requires.

MEN of an improved genius and capacity will yet sometimes push their idea of polity to a refinement, calculated to disgust them with any institution they may be born subject to; and men too, in the extremities of an hot and active, or of a peaceable and domestic spirit, will find wherewithal to colour their situation with discontent, and deprecate the coercion or freedom of a political constitution, respectively as they are suited to enterprize or quiet,—to the forum of Rome, or farm at Tibur.

IT is certain that no dissatisfaction with the laws and government of his country, whilst administered according to the spi-

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CHAP. rit of the institution, can authorise an individual to plot innovations, ever pregnant with danger to the whole community; and that the necessity must be very obvious and pressing, and the authority of very many must assent, to make any plea for commotion expedient or just.

BUT happiness, it will be said, is the great end of all political [64] ordonnance or arrangement; that states may not be of the best institution, or that even those of the best may have deviated from their first principle: and surely it is equally hard for a polished and wise man to be aggrieved by the errors of a savage ancestor; or to stand with his head under a ruin, because in a better state it had been a comfortable habitation to his forefathers. This reasoning will have weight in every country which permits not a free egress from its dominion; where such emigration is restricted [65] (I speak generally and allowing for exceptions), the canon is unjust, and agrees not with the great axiom "*Lex est summa ratio*," for reason favours the contentment and good of *each*, when it interferes not with that of *any*.

THAT a body of men may leave their native country, and that so doing they withdraw themselves from the parent state, its protection and its powers, I think questions so inseparable, that, had not a contrary mode of reasoning been much and often enforced, I should suppose the argument too obvious to render a detail necessary. Assuredly, those who depart on a conditional expedition, as they are benefited, so are they obligated by the conditions thereof; but the voluntary exile, who seeks refuge in the storms of the ocean, and trusts his body to foreign climes and exotic diet; who foregoes the delights of habit, and sweets of long connection; who flies from so many attachments to so much danger; flies not from dislike to his paternal glebe, or habitual society; it is from want, or it is from distresses which affect

affect the mind more than want ; or it is from supposed or real grievance of subjection that he escapes ; and if the imperious sway is to pursue him to his retreat, with all its distreins on property, and controul of person, the permission to quit the shore is at best trivial and insulting.

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THE colony embarking for a region of fixed and regulated society, of course must acquiesce in the previous compact ; but landing on a yet unappropriated spot, have surely as just a right to adopt the system of association their prejudices or wisdom may suggest.

THIS was the reasoning of old, and was supported by the demeanor of the ancient republics towards the various settlements formed in distant parts, by their disgusted or necessitous citizens ; for necessity, or from over-population, or from other casualties incident to society, might often, and perhaps most frequently, occasion many to seek other fortunes, and another country. Yet was not the ancient connection wholly lost sight of : — the sentiment of affinity, similarity of language, of religion, and, in great degree, of political institutions, must ever in such case lead nations to an intercourse, to support which, commerce and alliance step in as coadjutors ; and in all times of exigency and danger affecting the mother country or colony, a reciprocative plea for support and assistance exists on stronger, or at least on better grounds than those of mere sovereignty and subjection ; grounds framed and cemented by the united feelings and interests of mankind.

IT was from such sources, and from such sense of national attachment, that originated the Persian wars.

C H A P.

X.

Chap. 3.  
Strabo, L. 8.

IT hath been observed in a former chapter, that Athens had early become so populous, as to necessitate the departure of its supernumerary citizens for other countries. Ionia was a name common to Attica; the emigrants first seized and gave that appellation to the district of Aigiæleia, where having long stood the brunt of war for a settlement, finally they were routed and driven back to their native country by the Æoles and Achæi; thence again they issued forth, and settled on the coasts of Caria and its vicinities, where they built twelve cities, and established as many independant commonwealths. The early history of these republics is lost, possibly with the sixth book of Diodorus, or probably was not particularized by any author we now possess, as the first mention thereof by Herodotus cursorily touches on the conquest of them by Cræsus, and their being by him annexed to the kingdom of Lydia: with Lydia they fell into the hands of the Persian: still, however, they were mindful of their origin, and the commonwealths of their parent Greece, newly liberated from their several dynasties, instilled a sentiment of emulation and indignant shame, which at a favourable crisis might have given birth to a revolution.

Cosm. Nep. Vit.  
Miltiad.Herodot. Mel.  
pom.

Ctesias in Pers.

MILTIADES of Athens, who had newly thence led a colony to the Chersonese, judged that crisis to be arrived: Darius, with all the chiefs and best youth of Asia, were employed in the conquest of Scythia; to facilitate the expedition, with great labour and art a bridge had been effected over the Danube, and thither the army was now directing its retreat from the snows and famine of the North. The pass was guarded but by a small detachment, and Miltiades proposed to the chiefs of the Greek settlements to master the guard, and then, breaking down the bridge, to leave Darius and his troops to perish in the colds and dearth of Scythia; and thus destroying at once the tyrant and the instruments of his tyranny, at leisure to form such political establishments

establishments as were consonant to their ideas of justice, or claims to liberty. CHAP. X.

THE aristocracies and petty tyrants of each province felt their private interests clash with this hardy proposal; and Histæus of Miletus particularly remarking to his fellow despots, "that his and their authority existed but in subordination to the Persian; and that nullifying the lieutenancy of his power, they gave up their own;" the scheme of Miltiades met with general disapprobation; and perceiving himself to be no longer of service to his own, or any other colony, he returned to a private situation in his native Athens. Herodot. Mel-pom. Terpsich. ejusd.

HE had, however, awakened the spirit of the Asiatic Greeks, and left them prone to revolt, whenever the opinion of their leading men should cede to the voice of the people; and soon they did cede, from factious and selfish passions, what they had denied to more generous and public views; and when the happy opportunity was past, engaged in a contest, as dishonourable from motive, as ruinous in consequence. Ibid.

ARISTAGORAS the Milesian, counteracted in his views to the conquest of Naxos by Artabatus the Persian general, and thus urged by resentment to disaffection, was the prime instigator of the rebellion; in conjunction with his kinsman Histæus, he assisted each city in the expulsion of their Persian governors, and joining the cry of liberty and independency, sheltered his private enmity and weakness in the public cause of all the Grecian settlements on the coasts of Asia. Aristagoras, not even with these adherents feeling himself equal to a contest with the great king, resorted to Greece for assistance, as from the colonies to the mother country: he first applied to Sparta; but his declamation was ill-suited to the iron assembly of Lacedæmon; an appeal to philanthropy, Ibid.



C H A P.

X.

Herodot.  
Terpsich.Justin. L. 2.  
C. 5.

philanthropy, and the sentimental claims of distant affinity, a tale of distress, and the consciousness of a noble kindness, and disinterested protection, were topics better suited to an audience that respected the softer passions of humanity. To Athens he next applied, and there was received with all honour and hospitality; succour was unanimously voted, and quickly an armament of twenty sail was ready to join the confederate forces of Ionia: this exertion was the more glorious on the part of Athens, as she was at that very period in expectation of a powerful attack on her own people and country.

Herodot.  
Terpsich.

CLEOMENES nurtured a rooted enmity, nor yet forewent the idea of subverting the republic, the spirited exertions of which had so often worsted and disgraced him: in hopes that some partizans of Hippias might yet be found in Attica to give a treacherous welcome to his invasion, he purposed making that tyrant the instrument of his vengeance; and inviting him to the Peloponnese, promised to reinstate him in the power he had been the means of depriving him of. The Achæans, and other allies of Sparta, were, however, previously to be consulted; a congress was called; and the result of the debate unexpectedly proving inimical to their designs, overwhelmed the king and his protected fugitive with confusion and disappointment. Socrates of Corinth particularly inveighed against the horrors and injustice of tyranny; reprov'd the rancour of Cleomenes, and chid the Lacedæmonians for favouring a system of oppression in other countries, the establishment of which they so well knew the evils of, and so well guarded against, within the precincts of their own government; and in fine peremptorily told them, "they were not to expect that Corinth (whose delegate he was) would further abet a scheme of despotism, which, in their own state, too fatal experience had fully evinced was replete with danger and iniquity."

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THE other deputies coincided with the opinion of Soficles, and deaf to all menace or intercession, returned peaceably to their respective countries.

CHAP.

X.

Justin. L. 2.  
C. 9.

HIPPIAS, frustrated in his views of succour from the Peloponnese, withdrew to Asia, and availing himself of the resentment borne to the Athenians, from their support given to the revolted provinces, persuaded the king to countenance his pretensions to the sovereignty of Attica: It was at this time that the armament of the colonies attacked and burnt the city of Sardis; and Darius, exasperated thereby, vowed vengeance against the Athenians for their interposition, and gave a readier ear to the proffers and entreaties of Hippias.

Ælian. Fragm.  
ap. Suid.

CHAP.

## CHAP.

## C H A P. XI.

## XI.

OF THE FIRST PERSIAN WAR—CONDEMNATION OF MILTIADES  
—FURTHER THOUGHTS CONCERNING THE OSTRACISM.

Bacon's Es-  
says.

UNDER certain points of view, and in a certain degree, it is a just axiom of lord Verulam's, *That man is, but what he knows*: the extent then of his knowledge, is that of his excellence, to the attainment of which opportunities must coincide with the capacity thereof; and it is not alone the primary circumstances of birth, the peculiar rareness of the spirits, or quality of their channels, or what else to be acted upon by climate, or other natural contingency, that can singly elevate the human character; but a further and more refined combination of influences is requisite; of influences originating not from the material, but mental world, not from the temperature of soil or air, or even temperament of parents; but from the pre-established order of society, the prescriptive objects of its ingenuity, study, emulation, and esteem.

THE advantages of *country* in a *physical* sense, it will readily be granted, are not alone equivalent to those of *country* under the *political* purport of the word: it yet remains for consideration, how far these may agree? whether the vertical suns, which, according to many ancient and modern sophists, are so favourable to a finer texture of the brain, are not oppressive to its further strength and energy? whether quickness is not incompatible with stability? and, as man is not so much excellent from the gift of possessing, as from the faculty of acquiring, whether the retentive and progressive powers incident to those born under less brilliant skies, give not, in the course of time and things,

things, a national superiority, made and strengthened by gradual and improved accumulation, which the more vivacious children of the sun must ever look up to in despair? the most ethereal genius born to the community, finding no previous common stock of method for its direction, or of knowledge for its basis, no previous grounds of acquirement whereon to build or improve systems for the use of, and to further again the progress of posterity? Avoiding a too long and digressive train of reasoning, I leave it to the reader's ingenuity to seek, and supply these queries with, the proper solution; to deduce levity from fancy, and ignorance from inaction; to mark the passions born of indolence stifling reason in its birth; and then, to account—why Eastern genius hath gleamed in metaphor, rather than shone in poem;—why fancied, rather than thought in science;—why originated, and not perfected menial trades, and even the finer arts;—grafting the first shoots of knowledge, why left it to others to mature the fruit;—and (touching home to the subject) to develop why the people of Asia, dreading the recondite theories and active practice of republicanism, have ever sought, and do still seek shelter from the distress of employ, and pain of thought, under torpid submission to a despot.

MONTESQUIEU hath entered into a disquisition concerning physical effects on the constitution of men and states: throughout the annals of mankind, I know not a period more fully demonstrative of his theories, and of the influence of government on men, and of climate on both, than the times of contest betwixt Greece and Persia.

L'Esprit des  
Loix, L. 17.

If history is philosophy teaching by example, never did it teach in a more nervous strain, the lesson of contempt for tyranny, and of love and admiration for a state of freedom.

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DARIUS

C H A P.

XI.

Herodot.  
Terpsich.  
Ejusd. Erato.

DARIUS needed not the slave's admonition, who was ordered every morning and evening to remind him of Athens ; Hippias was too vigilant an incendiary to omit any occasion of making the king's resentment subservient to his own interests and designs.

Herodot. Erato.

As soon as the rebellion in Ionia was quelled, and the Persian, freed from intestine commotions, could safely lead his forces abroad, the assiduity of Hippias prevailed, and Darius sent his ministers to demand homage of the diverse states of Greece, and particularly to deliver his mandate to Athens, to submit at discretion to his power, and to receive Hippias as his delegate : the Athenians, not satisfied with treating this embassy with contempt, strove in other parts to procure it a similar reception ; and if any city yielded tokens of submission from motives of lucre or fear, they plainly declared that neutrality was not admissible, and that all who entered not into the common cause with the ardour of friends, were to be regarded as enemies.

Erato.

The Æginetans were among those who listened to the proffers or menaces of the Persian ; or, as Herodotus intimates, from enmity to the Athenians, their ancient rivals on the seas, and now become too powerful for them to cope with, unless aided by such strong alliance as at this period offered itself.

Pausan. in Corinth.

Ælian. L. 12. C. 10.

Plut. in Themist. Vit.

Strabo. L. 8.

ÆGINA was an island [66], which of a flat and stoney soil, had from the very first necessitated its inhabitants to seek sustenance from the seas ; the bark was soon improved into the vessel, the troop of fishermen became a nation of merchants, and its naval experience and power, during the usurpations at Athens, had arrogated the dominion of the seas.

ATHENS, when liberated from the Pisistratidæ, with her freedom resumed her commerce and naval spirit ; hence disputes,

putes, hence bloody contentions, successively arose between these too neighbouring rivals; for Ægina was within sight of Attica, and emphatically termed the “eyefore of the Piræus.” Pericles and Demades dispute the apothegm.

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XI.

Plut. Vit. Pericl.  
Athenæus.  
L. 3.

HOSTILITIES had lately ensued between these naval powers, on the subject of certain images made of the sacred olive, given by Athens to Epidaurus, and by force carried off from Epidaurus by the Æginetans: the interference of the Delphic oracle had terminated this “holy war,” at the moment when the islanders were sinking under superior force: the Athenians had submitted to the oracular injunction of a thirty years truce, during which they were to build a fane to Æacus: the fane was built; and this condition being complied with, national enmity compromised with superstition, and nought but a pretext for infringement of the truce was wanting to expedite an attack on the fleets and territories of Ægina.

Herodot.  
Terpich.

THE present conduct of the Æginetans in tendering “earth and water” to the Persian, opened an occasion of commencing hostilities too specious and too honourable to be passed over: this island being however under some engagements of subordinate alliance with the Spartan, it was first thought proper to demand chastisement at the hands of the sovereign state, of that people, who had acted in a manner derogatory to the honour of Greece, had spurned the compact of its associated cities, and had entered into the views of its common enemy. The Spartans gave ear to the remonstrance, and taking ten of the chief citizens from Ægina, sent them hostages to Athens, in security for the fidelity of their countrymen: these again quickly made reprisals on the coasts of Attica, and after various altercation, a naval war broke out between Ægina and Athens, and was

Herodot. Erato.

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some

Herodot. Polymn.  
Thucyd. L. 1.  
§ 14.

CHAP. XI. some time carried on with various success, but with uniform animosity and exertion.

Corn. Nep.  
Vit. Themist.

THESE contests with Ægina merit our attention, as they mark the progress of, and have their share in accounting for the Athenian greatness at sea, for those "*wooden walls*" [67] which so suddenly rose up, the safeguard and bulwark of Greece. The expedition to the coast of Ionia, and siege of Sardis, had awakened the spirit, and improved the means of naval armaments; and the Æginetan wars had further taught the ship-builder and engineer the advantages of their art, and had given the mariner the courage and dexterity of habit.

Corn. Nep.  
Vit. Miltiad.  
Herodot. Era-  
to.

THE forces of Darius, to the amount of two hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, were now mustered in Cilicia, and ready for embarkation: six hundred vessels of war were already hovering on the coasts, and this formidable armament taking on board the troops, immediately pointed its course to Eubæa: the city of Eretria in that island, had likewise given some support to the insurgents of Ionia; and Datis, the Persian general, was ordered by his king to bring the whole of that and the Athenian people in chains to the foot of his throne.

Ibid.  
Ctesias in Per-  
sec.

THIS haughty mandate, and the mighty force destined to its accomplishment, intimidated the independant republics, and turned the attention of all from intestine broils to the means of common safety: in vain however the islands boasted the parade of opposition to so numerous an enemy; they were quickly over-run and despoiled; even Eretria made but a short resistance; and Datis, having thus in part effected his commission, sent a multitude of every age and sex to await the sentence of Darius. Four thousand men, whom Athens had generously af-  
forded

fording in succour, were as generously dismissed by the Eretrians, previous to the moment of despair, that surrendered up their liberties ; and they opportunely returned to join in the defence of their native country.

C H A P.  
X I.

“ THE Persian camp is pitched on the plains of Marathon,  
“ let us (said Miltiades) let us meet them with ardour in the  
“ field ; vain is the idea of safety within these walls ; impa-  
“ tience of confinement, and the feelings of hardship, of ap-  
“ prehension, or of interest, ever have, and ever will beget  
“ treachery ; and should not this be the case, still the first emo-  
“ tion of courage deadens, unless animated by the heat of enter-  
“ prize ; the spirit of men loses force in a division of posts ;  
“ embody your citizens, lead them undauntedly forth, and emu-  
“ lation and patriotism will effect wonders.”

Corn. Nep. V. 7.  
Miltiad.  
Herodot. Era-  
to.

THE advice of Miltiades was adopted ; and how just was the reasoning, and how provident of events, every after circumstance will evince. During the conflict at Marathon (the particulars of which I think it inconsequential to recite) a shield was by some traitor-hand held up at Athens, as a signal to the Persian fleet that the walls were vacate ; but the citizens returned in time from the completion of their victory, to frustrate the treachery and repel the invaders.

Justin. L. 2.  
C. 9.  
Herodot. Era-  
to.

THE commonwealth began now to feel and to glory in the effects of its happy establishment ; the first means of its liberty were recalled to mind, the first moment was sanctified, the first authors venerated : the deed of Aristogeiton and Harmodius was again held up to public view ; decree ensued decree in honour of the Tyrannicides ; no slave was ever after to bear those names ; their martyrdom was a subject consigned to the chorus at the Panathenæan

Pausan. in Att.



C H A P. Panathenæan festival [68], and their statues were anew raised in  
 XI. brass, and worked by the hand of Praxiteles.

Plin. Hist. Nat.  
 L. 34. C. 4,  
 & 8.

Corn. Nep. Vit.  
 Miltiad.

Pausan. in  
 Messen.

THE wisdom and valour of Miltiades were crowned [69] too with marks of public favour and renown; his portrait was painted at the head of the ten generals, who led forth the ten thousand brave citizens of Athens to the conquest of twenty times their number; and the hero was contented with his reward.

WHEN pecuniary, or other recompence [70] of world's value is bestowed on a great or good deed, and the gift to virtue is the same with the hire of vice, the distinction is much impaired; and the purity of the motive no longer being ascertained, the action is no longer in the same manner ennobled by the reward: the high-minded disdaining to receive in common with those of sordid views, the incentive of glory loses ground, and the hopes of payment enlarge their influence, till in fine, the unworthy alone push forward to notice and retribution, through means corrupting and destructive to the commonwealth. Public virtue is then lost, and with it the republic.

Corn. Nep. Vit.  
 Miltiad.  
 Herodot. Era-  
 to.

THE Persian forces were effectually repulsed, and now retired homeward in dismay: seventy vessels were fitted out from Athens to scour the seas, and to levy fines on such of the islands, as by apostacy to the common cause, or by a neutral policy, had avoided the danger, and were now to enjoy the fruits of victory. A contribution from these states was deemed a just demand, and Miltiades was sent at the head of the fleet to command and enforce the impost: his first destination was to Paros, where being disappointed in his purpose, and severely wounded too in the attempt, he returned unsuccessful and dispirited to Athens. The people were astonished at the repulse! an Athenian armament,  
 and

and under the conduct too of Miltiades was to be irresistible ! the leader surely must have betrayed the duties of his command, and have tampered with the Persian, or very islands he was sent to tax or punish ! Discontent often gives birth to general rumour, and rumour to particular suspicion : the conduct of Miltiades was arraigned and condemned, and a heavy fine imposed, from the weight of which, and of his country's displeasure, he was freed by a sudden death, the consequence of the wound received in its service.

C H A P.

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Pausan.inAtt.

INGRATITUDE [71] is a topic on which the declaimer rivets the attention of his audience : it touches home to the selfishness of benevolence ; it excites an irksome sense of the interest generosity takes in expected retribution ; and anger, from dissatisfaction of the conscience thus awakened to itself, irritates and vexes the mind with the object that occasioned it : the sources of such emotion we are not willing to sift to the bottom, but hastily attribute it to an antipathy of those void of liberality, and of the sentiment thereof : but the worst men entertain a sense of conferring, if not of receiving an obligation ; they too start with horror at the same tale of benefit ill repaid ; the quality of their mite of goodness is equally dear, and the proof of the alloy equally distressful. It must be the facility hence of awakening the passions, and interesting the persons addressed, or self-deception, or misapplication of the term, that hath betrayed so many writers, and speakers too, into the absurdity of 'harranguing on the ingratitude of a collective state towards a subject thereof ; as if in any vicious sense (and in any other sense I think the word hath no meaning) a republic could be ungrateful to a constituent thereof !

It is a mark of general depravity, when self-adulation exalts the mere duties of life : a just idea of what we owe to our country,

L'Esprit des  
Loix, L. 4.  
C. 5. & L. 5.  
C. 3.

C H A P.  
XI.

Mach. Disc.  
L. I. C. 58.

Corn. Nep. Vit.  
Miltiad.

Suid. ad Verb.  
Miltiad.

Vit. Miltiad.

country, precludes all works of supererogation in the pure faith of patriotism as in that of religion; when we have done all we can, we have done but what we ought: in the lesser, as in the more general system, we should with resignation often consider a private evil as a public benefit; and reverence, the “*vox populi* [72],” if not as that of God, yet as worthy to be held in secondary regard. Each citizen who assembled for the Ostracism, or other mode of judicature, met to consider of the safety and weal of the republic; from the moment that he was in his public capacity, no other than public views were to influence his vote; the question was not, whether the man proceeded against had hitherto been of service, but whether in future he might be of disservice, to the state; he was to consider himself as an advocate retained on the part of his country; that its safety and well-being then and thenceforward depended on his voice, and that it was not justifiable to reject the merest surmise of danger to many, in favour to one; no lustre of private character was to dazzle and draw his attention from the common weal; if a thought of the man intruded, it was derogatory to the duty of the citizen:—“Miltiades behaved justly in the Chersonese;”—“*True, but he there assumed the ensigns and honours of royalty;*”—“His manners are plausible, his eloquence popular, his valour approved;”—“*It was the very character of Pisistratus;*”—“Remember the victory at Marathon;”—“*Doth not himself remember it too much?*”—“His enmity with the Persian king must surely be irreconcilable, for could Darius forget the hardy proposal made on the banks of the Danube?”—“*Aye! but when Tissaphernes sent stores to Attica, it was on the intercession, and to the faith of Miltiades alone, that he would consign them.*”—Says Nepos, “*Hæc populus respiciens maluit eum innoxium plecti, quam se diutius esse in timore* [73].”

C H A P.

## CHAP. XII.

## OF THE SECOND PERSIAN WAR.

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**D**ARIUS, irritated by the defeat, was gathering together the fugitives from Marathon, levying anew forces, building ships, and every way preparing a vast armament to crush and extirpate the very name of Athens, when death stepped in between, and put a sudden stop to his career of vanity, rage, and folly. Herodot. Pe-lymn.

A YOUNG and ignorant youth upon the throne; a minister sacrificing truth, honour, and the welfare of a whole people to his private purpose; that purpose fought with the meanest adulation; and that adulation opposed in vain, and with danger too, to the honest dissentient;—a scene now become common-place on the great theatre of the world, was then played in the council chamber of Persia: Xerxes opens the debate with much ignorance, and much arrogance; Mardonius avails himself of the one, and flatters the other; the speech of Artabanus I cannot so lightly pass over: “ Give some attention [74] (said he) O king, to adverse counsels; the value of the previous opinion will then have some test; the sound quality of advice is to be ascertained by opposition alone. Where is this prowess, that the Greeks are to find so irresistible? Failed it not in Scythia? failed it not in Attica? how few intrepid men there braved the assault of myriads! how fully did they evince that courage and unanimity could conquer in despite of multitude! And this bridge over the Hellespont! is it so soon then forgotten, how nearly Darius, and all the flower of Persia were betrayed, and left victims to the colds and dearth of Scythia? I

N

“ shudder

Ibid.Plat. de Leg. L. 3.Herodot. Pe-lymn.

CHAP. XII. “ shudder at the thought, that the fate of our king, our all, were  
 “ dependant on a single voice, and *that* too of Histiaëus, *the*  
 “ *traitor* !—But supposing this armament, this mighty fleet,  
 “ these numerous troops to be invincible, can they subdue too  
 “ the elements ? Your bridge, and your ships, may they not be  
 “ shattered by storms ? or is armour proof against pestilence or  
 “ famine ? It is not the force of myriads that can oppose the  
 “ will of heaven ; as its thunders spare the lowly object, and  
 “ beat down the oak or palace, so God delights in abasing the  
 “ arrogance of human designs, and depresses the mightier, and  
 “ elevates the weaker power ! for know, O king, that *God,*  
 “ *jealous of the sentiment of self-greatness, permitteth it but*  
 “ *to himself alone !*” This speech, which I have taken from  
 Herodotus, was received with contempt, and answered with  
 passion ; the speaker was called coward and dotard, and the ex-  
 pedition intended by Darius was adopted and resolved upon : the  
 debate then closed, the curtain dropt, and, according to the  
 known inversion of the political theatre, the farce being ended,  
 the tragedy was to begin.

Herodot. Po-  
lymn.

LET us pass over the musters and march of the army ; and,  
 having viewed twelve hundred ships sail in an artificial channel  
 cut through mount Athos, and having viewed a million [75] of  
 soldiers with an innumerable train of women, slaves, and other  
 followers, pass the stupendous bridge over the Hellespont, let  
 us hasten and follow Xerxes, and these multitudes, to their camp  
 near Tempe in Thessaly.

Ibid.

Diod. Sic.  
L. 11.

Plut. Vit. The-  
mist.  
Herodot. Po-  
lymn.

THE storm rumbled from afar, and Greece awakened to the  
 sound ! a general council was called, every private pretension  
 and contest was waved, levies were ordered, taxes imposed, al-  
 liances suggested, and every means of defence explored, argued,  
 and expedited. Synætus the Spartan, and Themistocles from  
 Athens,

Athens, were immediately sent forward with ten thousand men to meet the Persian, to solicit adherence to the common cause, to fix the wavering, to attach the dissentient; and, every where collecting what troops they could, to harass the invaders, and, cutting off their provisions and forage, to retard their progress; and afford the Grecian council time to think and order best for the common security. These generals were in many parts unsuccessful; some states were alienated by disgust, the generous wishes of some were repressed by inability or fear, and others, whose patriotism had yielded to motives of lucre, deigned not even to plead present ease or danger, but openly abetted the designs of the public enemy. The emissaries dispatched in quest of succour from Apulia and Sicily, met not with a more favourable reception; they enlisted but one small detachment from Crotona under Phayllus: the Carthaginians intimidated by the vicinity of Ægypt (then a province of the Persian empire) had entered into alliance with Xerxes, and the part assigned them, was to keep the Greek settlements in Italy, and in Sicily, too fully employed, to anyways afford assistance to the mother-country. Under these accumulated distresses and disappointments, it was judged expedient to study every means of protracting the war; and heaven [76] in default of other allies, might perhaps abet so just a cause, and with disease, tempest, or famine, vex and diminish their enemies. Leonidas and the Spartans undertook to retard for some time the Persian inroad into Greece; at the pass of Thermopylæ bravely and desperately they effected their purpose; resisted for many days the whole Persian army under the advantage of situation, nor quitted it but with their lives.

Herod. Uran.

Diod. Sic.  
L. 11. S. 10.

Plat. de Leg.  
L. 3.

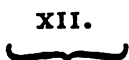
Herodot. Polymn.  
Pausan. in Lacon.  
Front. in Stratag. L. 2.  
C. 3.

Herodot. Erato.

IN the war with Darius, we saw the Athenians firmly dispute the field of battle, we saw the unanimity of patriots substitute to the discipline of soldiers, produce as combined and as irre-

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sistable a force ; we are now to view them in a different scene of action, to behold them driven vagabond to the seas, and in this their distress opening another sluice, and rushing in a new channel to honour and dominion.

Diod. Sic.  
L. 11.

THE confederate fleet was stationed near Artemisium [77] in Eubæa ; the Persian admiral sent round three hundred vessels to block up this armament in the narrow streight, which divides that island from the continent, and intercept them if attempting to escape. This haughty indication of superiority awakened the indignation of the Greeks ; and that, and despair of flight, urged them to await the conflict with the fullen resolution of those who foresee and are prepared for the worst.

Isocrat. Pa-  
nath.  
Herodot.  
Uran.  
Plut. Vit.  
Themist.

THOUGH the Athenians, from regard to the common union, waved all pretensions to the supreme command, yet Eurybiades, the Spartan leader, in every case of difficulty recurred to the genius of Themistocles : this Athenian was endowed with a larger portion of ethereal spirit than in the munificence of nature is often allotted to one man ; daring in enterprize, cool in action, of a foresight like prophecy, a comprehension intuitive, and a memory (as himself declared) retentive even to a pain, was this extraordinary character ; and it quickly gained an ascendancy which no political arrangements could preclude. Was the commander of Sparta, of Tegeæa, or Ægina, or aught other state, still to Themistocles every mind looked up for scheme, every eye for example : he perceived that the spirit of his countrymen deadened in inaction, he well knew that defence was of a sluggish cast, that attack anticipated the air of triumph ; and he accordingly used every art to persuade them to provoke the combat, and go forth and assail the Persian detachment : he succeeded, and the conflict, though not decisive, gave the allied Greeks better hopes of victory ; it showed that valour had its superiority

Diod. Sic.  
L. 11.

Isocrat. Pa-  
neg.

superiority as well as multitude, and taught them for the future to regard disparity of force as distinct from that of numbers.

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XERXES and his army were now advanced towards Attica; the country was depopulated, the city defenceless; " Shall we then  
 " forfake our ships? the wooden walls which the oracle de-  
 " tined for our bulwark? No (said Themistocles) rather let us  
 " recur to them for the safety of our wives, our children, our  
 " all that is dear to us: grieve not at the battering of your  
 " ramparts, or conflagration of your town; the republic lives  
 " not in its edifices, but in its men; not the city, but the citi-  
 " zens make the state; save them, and Athens is still great, and  
 " may yet be happy." This desperate [78] resource was adopt-  
 ed; and those whom sex, decrepitude, or infancy rendered unfit  
 for service, were deposited in Salamis, Ægina, and other neigh-  
 bouring islands, to await better times for their restoration to their  
 native gods and country.

Corn.Nep.Vit.  
Themist.  
Frontin.Strat.  
L. 1. C. 3.  
Herodot.  
Uran.  
Ctesias in Pers.

IN the chain of affection patriotism appears a necessary link intermediate to social love and general philanthropy: the man who loves not his country can be no very warm friend to mankind: thus we find the Athenians showed more ardour for, and more benevolence to, the common cause, than any other of the Greeks;—the Spartans indeed were equally attached to their Sparta, but not equally to the common welfare; to account for this exception we must observe, that institution with them improved not nature, but supplanted nature with habit; that habit transcends not its practice, and that their devotion was thus bounded by the maxims and exercise of duty prescribed to the narrow circle of their own state.

MUCH as Athens had suffered, and constant as she was in her sufferings, the allies were little willing to risque any thing for her

Isocrat. Paneg.



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Corn. Nep.  
Vit Themist.  
Diod. Sic.  
L. 11.  
Herodot.  
Uran.

Isocrat. Ar-  
chid. Orat.

Herodot.  
Uran.

Justin. L. 2.  
C. 13.  
Front. Stra-  
tag. L. 2.  
C. 1.

her support or consolation: a selfish system of conduct was adopted; the fortification of the isthmus, and the station of the fleet on the coasts of the Peloponnese, were determined on by the confederates, whose territories lay in those parts: Themistocles foresaw the dangers of this narrow policy,—that the different detachments quitting the general rendezvous were likely to quit the common cause; some would retire to their native harbours, some sell their freedom, and some seek it on a distant and unmolested shore: And were the Athenian wives and daughters to be left defenceless, and devoted to all the outrage of captivity? were the people to be forsaken, who had forsaken their all, to preserve their faith, and take so hardy a part in the perils too of others? Some of the Greeks went so far as to object to the Athenian voice in council, to cavil at their very existence as a state, and to basely twit them with the loss of that country, which they had given up from such public-spirited and noble motives: incensed at the insult, the Athenians declared, “they still had, “and should soon display their consequence; that they would “depart for Siris in Italy, the propitious spot of settlement “pointed out to them by the oracle; and the Peloponnesians “would then feel how much force they had lost, and severely “rue the insolence of their present deportment.” This menace occasioned at least some hesitation; and Themistocles availed himself of the moment of delay to frustrate the scheme of retreat, and force an engagement: he found means of informing Xerxes of the intended departure, and with specious argument, and under the mask of treasonable friendship, persuaded him to intercept the pass, and attack the Grecians when in the disorder and dismay of flight: the stratagem succeeded, the Persian fleet blocked up the road; and Themistocles then apprizing the confederates of the impracticability of escape, necessity held the place of virtue, and they prepared for the combat.

ON one side behold the naval force of half the known world, and, amidst a croud of uncouth names and barbarous novelties, observe too the most experienced and renowned of maritime nations, the veteran sailors of the isles, of the Euxine sea, and of Ægypt; remark too three hundred vessels from Sidonia and Syria, and manned by those Phœnicians whose prowess and practice are the favourite themes of antiquity!

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Diod. Sic.  
L. 11.  
Herodot. Po-  
lymn. & Uran

ON the other part view the armament of the Greeks; a small but desperate band, not equalling in numbers of their fleet a fourth part [79] of the enemy's, but still placing a forlorn hope of victory in the resolution to die for it.

Ibid.  
Æschyl. Perf.  
Trag.  
Ctesias in Perf.

THEMISTOCLES studied every means to lessen or baffle the superiority of the enemy: he tampered with the Asiatic Greeks, and making them, or making them seem inclinable to desert, rendered them suspicious to the king, and they were not permitted to mingle in the combat: he artfully contrived to draw the Persians into the narrow seas, where the previous orders and arrangements of so crowded a fleet were impeded and broken, and in the moment of embarrassment he gave the signal of attack; the Greeks rushed with impetuosity into the midst of the enemy, sunk some vessels, disordered the whole body, forced many on shore, and many finding their very efforts to engage fruitless, withdrew from the scene of action. In this battle, the Athenians were stationed opposite to the Phœnician squadron, and thus bore the hottest brunt of the engagement, till their experienced adversaries, together with the whole Persian fleet, were nearly destroyed,—five hundred of their ships being sunk or taken: thus glorious and decisive was the victory of the Greeks. Though many ships were sunk, and many stranded, yet it was to be supposed, that of so vast a fleet sufficient might remain to be still formidable, and to bring the superiority at sea again to hostile

Justin. L. 2.  
C. 10.  
Frontin. Stra-  
tag. L. 2. C. 3.

Ctesias in Perf.  
Herodot.  
Uran.

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Justin. L. 2.  
C. 12.

hostile discussion : Justin clears up this difficulty with observing, that those who had escaped or avoided the conflict, dreading the resentment and cruelty of the king, as much, or more than even the bravery of the foe, flunk off in secrecy to their native ports and cities.

Frontin. Strateg. L. 2. C. 6.

XERXES fled precipitately towards the Hellespont ; far from impeding, Themistocles wisely opened a way [80] to his retreat ; timidity probably accelerated his flight, for arrogance and meanness of spirit belong to dirt of the same mold ; but good and substantial reasons were urged for his withdrawing hastily to Asia ;—ere the rumour of his defeat might reach that country, and excite the commotion of all, the seditious spirit of many, and treasons of some ; which ever originate in public calamity, which exaggerate it from fears or from design, and might, under the contingencies of his absence, shake the very seat of empire.

Justin. L. 2.  
C. 13.

Diod. Sic.  
L. 11.

He left however Mardonius to carry on the war, and with a view too (as I think Diodorus of Sicily hints) of covering his retreat, for the army under Mardonius withdrew northward from the scene of action.

THE threat of secession from the league, dropt by the Athenians previous to the battle, was not readily forgotten ; whatever provocation called forth the menace, the menace was alone remembered, and with all the bitterness of disgust ;—for hatred often finds new subject in its very injustice.

Ibid.  
Herodot.  
Uran.

WHEN Eurybiades was to bestow the palm of virtue, he passed by the Athenians, and allowed to their rivals the Æginetans the first place of desert : the Spartans however feared the abilities of Themistocles, and whilst they insulted the people, to conciliate their general, loaded him with presents and applause : the Athenians were too high-minded to stoop to reproach or complaint ;  
but

but their indignation vented itself on Themistocles, who had held his hand forth for the gift, and from a mercenary consideration, had waved a just sense of the many indignities offered to his country: he was immediately degraded, and the command given to Xantippus. Attica was now vacated by the Persian; and affection for the natal soil,—that endearment, which the recollection of tender or happy incidents gives to the scene of past enjoyment (deemed enjoyment perhaps because past!) and a superstitious veneration for some spots, and the attachment use gives to all,—urged the Athenians to immediately return to the site of their native city, repair its ruins, rebuild its walls, and propitiate its gods with new sacrifices and temples.

THE restless ambition of Themistocles ill-brooked the disgrace he was under with his fellow-citizens; and to recover their favour, his genius agitated every plan of private artifice, or of public service: convening the assembly, in a bold and artful harangue, he hinted at a scheme of the utmost importance to the state, but which notoriety would frustrate the execution of; he therefore demanded the assistance of such good and wise citizens as could be relied on by the community: singly, Aristides was judged to be of wisdom and integrity adequate to the trust, and he was commanded to attend to and report his opinion of the project in view: Aristides, on a future day, stepped forth in the assembly, and without preamble of approbation or dislike, merely declared that the scheme was equally replete with benefit to themselves, and with injustice to others; and without further enquiry it was unanimously rejected.

Plut. Vit.  
Themist.

THE very essence of a popular government (says Montesquieu) is virtue [81]; it is indeed the soul of a republic, and dissolution attends its exit: dynasties may long stand on a basis of various substance, of force of institution, or of mere prescription;

L'Esprit des  
Loix. L. 3.  
C. 3.

CHAP.  
XII.

but a democracy requires the precious cement of probity, sifted from every particle of vicious or selfish inclination; the state cannot long exist but of good citizens, and the good citizen hath its foundation in the good man; patriotism may be termed an alchemy elaborated from all private virtues: observe well, that had the assembly of Athens paid the lightest attention to the policy of Themistocles, it must have been from selfish views; and every citizen who had given a voice even for the debate, must have been actuated by motives that marked him as a member dangerous to the future commonweal.

Herodot.  
Uran.  
Diod. Sic.  
L. 12.

THE Athenians were of all others most the object of dread to the common enemy; Marathon echoed the history of their valour, Salamis of their naval prowess and policy; and the force accruing to the Greek confederacy from their peculiar vigour and resources, were obvious on repeated trial: Mardonius pondered how to detach this people from the alliance; their patrimonies were plundered, and themselves and families doomed to a long and laborious penury; misery might at length perhaps have broken the firmness of their spirit, and have alienated their minds from so distressful a cause: to use the elegant words of Tacitus, "*Certamen virtutis et ambitio gloriæ, felicitium hominum sunt affectus.*"

Tacit. Ann.  
15.

Diodor. Sic.  
Lib. 12.  
Justin. L. 2.  
C. 14.

MINISTERS were dispatched to Athens with every threat that could influence, and every proffer that might seduce; would they pay a titular homage, and be merely nominal tributaries to Xerxes, the fairest spot of Greece, or of the known world was at their choice; or their city should be rebuilt, and their public edifices erected and endowed with splendour and with opulence; nor should a law be touched, or privilege be invaded: the Spartans sent emissaries in haste and terror to meet and oppose this embassy; they were conscious of the ill-treatment which

which Athens might plead in vindication of infidelity to the Grecian league, and they came ready fraught with argument, entreaty, and reproach.

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ON this occasion there was a dignity in the conduct of the Athenian senate, which can never be sufficiently admired: the proposals of Mardonius were received with a contemptuous silence;—the ambassadors simply were desired to immediately quit the city; for the senate revered the sacred character, and were unwilling that it should meet with the insult, any delay within their walls might expose it to:—to the Spartans they replied in the haughty tone of offended desert, and bade them for the future judge better of their virtue, and their services.

Diod. Sic.  
L. II.  
Plutarch. Vit.  
Aristid.

MARDONIUS, exasperated at the repulse, again poured his myriads into Attica; and again the aged and the weak were wafted to the neighbouring coasts, and the city destroyed, and its very foundations erased. As if their country was endeared by adversity, the people this time lingered to the last moment within their town, nor quitted it till their supplications for reinforcement had been rejected by Sparta, and every other city of the League. It soon appeared that an engagement, though procrastinated, could not be avoided; Mardonius advanced, raging with fire and sword, from territory to territory; and then at length the cogency of their own affairs induced the Peloponnesians to take the field; and the confederate army, as soon as collected, advanced to meet the enemy then desolating the plains of Plataea. Pausanias, the Spartan king, commanded the allied forces, consisting of an hundred thousand combatants, a number by far greater than the Grecians had ever heretofore mustered in one field of battle: let us not dwell on inconsequent particulars; the victory at Plataea, though more sharply contested, was again decisive in favour of the Greeks; the Persian generals [82]

Herodot. Cal-  
liop.  
Ctesias in Perf.

CHAP. were killed, the whole army routed; and the carnage pursued  
 XII. with such rage and animosity, that fortunate was the Persian who  
 escaped to tell his king, "how prophetic were the tears he shed  
 when numbering his millions at Sardis!"

Id. in Calliop. LEUTYCHIDES and Xantippus, still pursuing and harrassing  
 the remains of the fleet worsted at Salamis, at length forced it  
 from the seas; the mariners, no longer daring to face the naval  
 power of the Greeks, drew their vessels on shore, and by a  
 fortification and entrenchment, sought to secure them from the  
 enemy; but nothing could stop the ardour of conquest; the  
 Grecians sallied from their ships; impediment and numbers  
 were slighted; and the very day that crowned the Greeks with  
 victory at Plataea, gave them the laurel too at Mycale.

Ctesias in Perf. THE mighty armament employed on this expedition, was the  
 Justin. L. 3. united effort of the vast empire of Persia, and its forces having  
 C. 1. been thus successively vanquished, and its fleets destroyed, Xerxes  
 was no longer in a capacity of carrying hostilities abroad, but,  
 embittered by disappointed vanity, was left to vent its cruelty on  
 his subjects, or to blunt its poignancy in dissipation, till vice  
 and tyranny exceeded even the bounds of Asiatic sufferance, and  
 he fell a victim to the public resentment.

Diod. Sic.  
 L. 11.

C H A P. XIII.

C H A P.  
XIII.

OF GREAT MEN—ATHENS REBUILT—CONSEQUENCES OF  
THE PERSIAN WAR—SUPREMACY OF ATHENS.

**O**FTENTIMES a rational enquiry proves introductory to the emotions of the heart, and gives birth to a pleasure the more strong, as proceeding from the united impulse of argument and passion. Whilst we trace the vicissitudes of human lot; whilst we study to obviate our own or others frailties; whilst we glean knowledge and happiness from the fields of error and misfortune, we become interested in the characters of our lesson; a generous sympathy mixes itself with our speculations, and as reason approves or condemns, every nerve vibrates in harmony to the sentiment: we become censors with Cato, and patriots with Brutus, and for a moment enter into the habits of society, artfully introduced to us by the writer, as strongly as those of our daily and domestic intercourse. The facility of forming particular applications, and the interest therein taken by the generality of readers, have induced many historians to make public events secondary to private characters; and instead of attempting to absorb the attention in the weal and fortunes of a collective state, to take the easier task of painting a single figure in life, and attaching the student by the refined flattery of raising in him ascetic feelings, and then placing them in proud self-comparison with the picture. Even those who give the most idle perusal to a work, are yet from daily practice habituated to a consideration of the virtues and vices of an individual; but when the actions of a combined society are in view, the lengthened chain requires the most assiduous spirit to unravel it, much penetration to discover the minute links,



links, and much acuteness to discriminate their multiplicate relations and dependancies.

MORE are capable of feeling than of speculating ; perhaps most men are fonder of sentiment than of thought ; and when I presume to blame those who have turned history into adventure, and who have emulated the portrait painter, whose Colossal hero stalks in front of a battle or a town scarcely the dimension of his shoe ; when I propose every where to elevate the battle and the town, to take virtue as much as may be in the aggregate, nor depress the characteristic of a people by an unnatural and degrading contrast with the character of one man ; perhaps I may afford less entertainment than those I am bold to censure : but to rouse public principles and public virtue, whilst I trace the history of a great and free people, and to excite political caution, whilst I conjoin causes and effects, and note each progressive step to elevation, and towards decline, form the scope of this treatise, nor can I relinquish it in favour to a particular subject, and to a particular class of readers.

GREAT men I am to look upon as factitious beings ; the further the analysis is pursued, the more rational the "*nil admirari*" of the old Numicus will appear ; the more we shall be led to think that they are much indebted to casualties for their elevation ; and remarking the extravagancies on which their pretensions to superiority are often founded, perhaps imagine that merit as well as opulence is in the hands of fortune, whilst by her good favour crimes are aggrandized into heroism ; and vice, which in a meaner state was turned from in abhorrence, becomes respected in its excess. Even the real virtue which some few times hath found its way to pre-eminence, perhaps was not of a more sublimate or ethereal temper, than that of myriads depressed in oblivion ; as the statue [83] of Memnon in Ægypt, which

which spoke when the rising sun beamed upon its head, so many a seeming block in private life might vivify, were a timely ray of fortune directed to its recess of spirit. Perhaps those minds endowed with the most transcendant qualities, have through every age passed with little notice, and without general esteem : the soldier who asked Miltiades “ wherefore he wore the laurel “ his country had won ;” if he spoke not from envy, was of more intrinsic worth than Miltiades : some alloy is necessary to make a character current : the younger Pliny well observes, Plin. Ep. L. 6. Ep. 23. “ That genius cannot alone struggle into day ; it must be drawn “ forth by season and circumstance ; nor will these suffice, unless too it be abetted by the patronage of social favour and “ introduction.” Is there a man so visionary, and so little practiced in life, as not to know that the price of public notice is the abasement of many parts essential to the theory of exalted virtue ? The candidate must often prostitute his opinion, if not his morals ; it is the only key to the barrier of vanity ; and if he disdain that path to the good graces of mankind, he had better forego all hopes of attainment : and after all, and even the most brilliant exertion of ability, the simple reason of preference will often prevail against him, which raised Poppæus Sabinus to the favour of the emperor Tiberius ; Tacit. Ann. 6. “ *Nullam ob eximiam artem, “ sed quod par negotiis, neque supra erat ;*” a policy in choice well deserving attention !

THE subtilty of intellect, or spirit of enterprize, or what else may enter into the composition of those we vulgarly term “ great “ men,” are particularly to be guarded against in popular governments : ascendancy [84] of private character may discompose the union, or corrupt the virtue of the people ; favour to particular men may beget factions in the state, and social love recoil from the extent of patriotism to the narrow circle of a party ; then is it retreated midway to domestics and to self-interest ;

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Thucyd. L. 1.  
§ 138.  
Plut. Vit. Themist.  
Corn. Nep.  
Vit. ejusd.  
Diod. Sic.  
L. 14.

interest ; self-interest in its turn will quickly sway, and the commonwealth be distracted with various and private influences. Even a virtuous man too much distinguished and exalted above his peers, may open this sluice to the ruin of his country : let us draw a character more dangerous, as more fitted for self-elevation ; let us delineate the hero of Salamis : his mind was of a sublimate and active spirit, that pervaded in a momentary course, the past, the present, and the future ; and had a command of experience, subtilty, and foresight, for the exigencies of the hour, or for the protractions of policy ; quick in thought and tardy to execute ; or dilatory in purpose, and immediate and bold in perpetration, as juncture necessitated, or as season required : no scheme was too deep for his capacity ; no enterprize too hardy for his courage ; he had not the winning softness, but he had the force of eloquence ; his tongue was not persuasive but commanding ; its art was the simplicity of truth : when he spoke, it was not a plausibility of address, it was not a specious show of argument, or an appeal to the pathetic that drew the favour of the assembly ; but a something comprehensive, intuitive, prophetic, a something of genius that rivetted the attention, and on the self-diffidence of the hearer raised an uncontrollable command ; the minds of the audience were amazed and daunted into acquiescence, even when not argued into conviction ; and the artful rhetor forgot his act, and the opinionative were abashed before him ! such and like pre-eminence of character was fatal to the commonwealth of Athens : Miltiades prepared the way for Themistocles ; Themistocles for Pericles : crouching to the successive ascendancy of their great men, the people were habitually brought to consider their popular state as dependant ; and rather to confide their public weal to the abilities of a statesman, than to the wisdom of the constitution : they insensibly deviated from the sound and simple principle of conduct adopted by their forefathers, and to a

free progress in the strait road of virtue, preferred a leading string in the maze of politics: they were then often led to injustice, often bewildered in ruinous practices, often betrayed to bloody and useless expeditions; at length inured to subserviency, they were at times the means of glory and power to the ambitious, tools to the crafty, wealth to the avaricious, dangerous to good men, and a subterfuge to the criminal. We shall find other causes co-operate, but much of these evils is imputable to the ascendancy of great men: let not the ostracism be reprobated, for were it not for that weapon with which the leaders of the people buffeted and depressed each other, the republic of Athens had not long withstood the meanest pretender to usurpation.

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THE people of Athens returning once more to their native soil, planned their new city on a larger and improved scale; the old port Phaleron seemed of too small extent, and the foundations of a more commodious receptacle for their shipping were now laid at the Piræus [85]; an arsenal and spacious mercantile quay were designed; and the city was to be surrounded with walls of an extraordinary height, and of a thickness that would admit two chariots to pass on the summit, and the stones were to be rivetted with iron, and cemented with molten lead. The Spartans viewed with jealousy and apprehension the progress of these mighty works; they remonstrated against the policy of such fortification, "might it not prove a place of arms for the Persian?" against the injustice of it; "why distrust their friends and allies?" The Athenians answered not with their old fashioned noble sincerity; they trusted not to a fair parley, or to a brave defiance; they worked on under the cover of falsehoods and insidious negotiation; they were persuaded "*by their great man*" to trick, to evade, to trifle, to say and to unsay, and to prefer a low craftyhood to an honest appeal to the justice of the allies, or

Diod. Sic.  
L. 11.  
Justin. L. 2.  
C. 15.  
Thucyd. L. 1.  
§ 90, & seq.  
Corn. Nep.  
Vit. Themist.  
Plut. Vit.  
ejuid.

to a reliance on their own force: Themistocles, in the sinister means he took of rebuilding and strengthening Athens, more effectually served the dominion of Sparta, by corrupting the people, than he annoyed it, by fortifying the city: this was the first blow given to public virtue; the commonwealth shook to its very foundation, and a crevice was ever after open to matter of corrosive sap, or of sudden explosion.

Athenæ. L. 12.  
Corn. Nep.  
Vit. Cimon.  
Plut. Vit.  
ejusd.

THE expedition of Xerxes, though successful to the invader, was not the less fatal to Greece: the profusion of gold and silver found in the Persian camp after the battle of Platæa, and the inundation of wealth poured into the country from the several other victories, accelerated greatly the progress of particular accumulation, and of general luxury; private citizens became distinguished, and soon distinguishable alone by their superior opulence: Cimon, whose patrimony we are told was insufficient to discharge his father's debt to the public, suddenly became possessed of so great wealth, that feasting the commonalty of Athens was to him an ordinary expence.

Plut. Vit. Ci-  
mon.

Xenoph. περί  
οικονομίας.

THE redemption of the captives too returned a prodigious sum to the conquerors; and the multitude who were not ransomed, taking the menial trades and services from the citizens, taught them a fatal lesson of indolence, pride, and overbearance. Other slaves were sent to the silver mines in Attica, which although, according to Xenophon, worked from time immemorial, had hitherto been productive of a scanty revenue; but were now likely to be laboured with a toilsome assiduity that promised the most abundant returns. So many springs of corruption at once burst the sod! the sluices they tore up, the stoppages they bore away, and channels they pursued, shall be delineated in their proper chart.

SUCCESSFUL

SUCCESSFUL in her defence; Greece in her turn brandished the hostile sword, and in the arrogance of triumph meditated new victories in the very heart of Asia. Many of the Greek Colonies had come over during the contest; all were lukewarm to the Persian cause, and had proved rather an encumbrance than support to the armaments they had been enlisted into; to protect these provinces, and save them from the vengeance of Xerxes, was the ostensible and indeed a just reason for still protracting the war; but the avidity of glory, as of wealth, encreases with acquisition, and motives of ambition and avarice probably lurked beneath the semblance of disinterested bravery and beneficence: artful policy characterised the immediate conduct of the Athenians towards these people, and warrants the remark. Leotychides and Xantippus had persuaded the Asiatic colonies to quit for ever the coasts of Caria and resort to Greece, where they tendered them such settlements, as the territories confiscated from the Greek states who had sided with the Persian, might open to their disposal; but the Athenians disavowed the proffer of their generals, and dissuaded the Ionians from indulging any ideas of such return to their original country: it seems not to have suited with schemes of conquest, to substitute in the neighbouring districts a meritorious people whom it were base to attack, and from their common alliance impracticable to subdue, for nations, the objects of general stigma and persecution, and whom under plea of the public cause, the Athenians might proceed against without interruption, and dispossess of their wealth and independancy in favour of their own views of accumulation and dominion. The leading states which had abetted the Persian invasion, were the Thessalians, Thebans, and Argives; to proscrib and expel these people their respective seats in the Amphycionic, or great council of Greece, was a proposal of the Spartans; on this question the Athenian representative opposed the expulsion; this apparent duplicity was the result of the same system:

Diod. Sic. L. 11.

Plut. Vit. Themist.

CHAP. system : it was necessary to obviate the too great influence of  
 XIII. Sparta, which might accrue from the weights in the counter-  
 acting scale being thus diminished; and in default of advantages  
 from present war, and at a due crisis,—the voices of the people,  
 whose rights were thus preserved, might be gained over to those  
 who had been instrumental in preserving them. Ministerial ma-  
 nagement thus early displayed even its refinements in the offices  
 of Themistocles, and other Athenian demagogues.

Thucyd. L. 1.  
 §. 95.

THE Spartans had hitherto kept the lead in the confederacy, Pausanias their king was still vested with the supreme command, and still the allies collectively submitted to a military jurisdiction; but now these powers were to pass over to Athens.

Aristotl. Polit.  
 L. 2. C. 7. &  
 L. 7. C. 14.  
 Plut. Vit. Ly-  
 curg.  
 Xenoph. Lac.  
 Pol.

THE education of the Lacedæmonian youth pretended less to teach them than to confine them to the best road; to fix them in a singular walk of virtue guarded by dæmons and bugbears, wherein they were goaded on by shame and pride, and frightened with whips and masks on the minutest tendency to linger or to deviate, till in fine, habit hardened or conciliated their minds to the rugged way [86]. This institution however so much outraged nature, and so much infringed her original claims to various temperature of passion and of mind, that the legislator foresaw she must ever be on the watch to assert her rights, and invalidate his system; it was his policy therefore to leave as little inroad to her as possible, and to cut off all connexion with those, whose examples might too amiably enforce her interests and cause: Lycurgus permitted no strangers to sojourn in his city, nor his citizens to travel into strange countries; even war was forbidden to be often waged with the same people, as from a too familiar view of foreign manners, being a corruptive intercourse; the apprehension of teaching the enemy, I think, mistakenly attributed as his motive, for the Spartans knew less of the *arts* of war

Diod. Sic.  
 L. 11.

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war than any of the Greeks : at the investment of the Helots in Ithomæ the Spartans avowedly called in the Athenians to assist, not being themselves expert in the conduct of a siege. Indeed, in bounty to mankind, Lycurgus, having adopted such a scheme of government, could not do less than study its immaculate continuance ; for having treated men as wild beasts, he had made them so ; his plan was to chain, and not to humanize ; and the loosening of the fetter might be equally fatal to his people, and to their neighbours.

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THE duration and commerce of the Persian war had served much to relax the Spartan severity, and having transgressed the strict letter of their discipline, they had no just theory of ethics whence to redress the evil ; and they rushed headlong into every kind of barbarous insolence, and unpolished debauchery.

Thucyd. L. 1.

THE allies beheld the conduct of Pausanias and his followers with indignation, and one by one they withdrew from his command, and submitted themselves to the generalship of Cimon and Aristides. The Ephori saw their institution in danger, and for the present waving all other considerations, sullenly acquiesced in the supremacy of Athens.

Plut. Vit.  
Cimon.

Isocrat. Panath.

A FIXED establishment of proportional subsidies was deemed a necessary measure previous to any new expedition, and the Athenians were permitted to commence their administration, with assuming the very important authority of fixing, collecting, and managing the quota of each membership of the confederacy : this trust we are told was executed by Aristides with a strict faith and impartiality, which gave new ascendancy to him and to his country ; but the course of such power was corruptive and ruinous, and the divestment thereof difficult, as the continuance dangerous.

Justin. L. 3.  
C. 6.  
Thucyd. L. 1.

Corn. Nep.  
Vit. Aristid.  
Plut. Vit. ejust.



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Thucyd. L. 1.

THE ill-policy indeed of confiding the sole conduct of the levies to any single state seems so very obvious, that a curious reader might request a nicer search into this singular matter: it will be observed (as it indeed proved) that a power thus reposed, indefinite in extent as in duration, was virtually perpetual and despotic; for, could the period of its authority be questioned whilst that authority was in full force? or its force be safely excepted to, when its expiration was not at hand? submission to such power was in time likely to become servitude, and dissension at all times to bear the mien of hostility: it was probable that the party reposed in, progressively would admit the sole alternative of constant service, or of virulent enmity. Considering the facility of obviating so fatal consequences, by the simple establishment of a council or committee of the several states, it is difficult to account for their coinciding in so destructive a measure:—perhaps, dazzled by a successive and rapid course of conquest, they gave not leisure to political consideration; but blindly adopted what seemed readiest for the present purpose, and made choice of a sole and uncontrollable command as best suited to war, little provident that its consequences might extend to times of peace.

FROM this period the conduct of the Athenians at home and abroad wore a new aspect, was founded on new principles of government, and modelled to a new system of politics: of these I shall treat apart.

THE completion of the war with Persia was hereafter involved with a series of local interests and intestine commotions; so far, however, it may be proper to anticipate events and clear our way, as to note the conclusion of hostilities with the common enemy: this thread of history indeed runs but lightly through the web, which simply spotted with the victories over the Per-

Plut. Vit. Ci-  
cion.  
Thucyd. L. 1.

fian

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fian at Eurymedon and Cyprus, is every where interwoven with the varieties of national party, usurpation, and quarrel: the victories at Cyprus and Eurymedon closed the contest with Xerxes; and the Persian sent a submissive embassy to Athens, imploring peace: The terms concluded were as glorious and beneficial to Athens and its allies, as humiliating to the common aggressor:

“ The Greek colonies in Caria and other parts were declared free  
 “ and independant states; no satrap was to set foot within three  
 “ days journey of the sea on the Asiatic coast, or within the river  
 “ Halys (according to Isocrates) and no Persian vessel of force  
 “ was to appear on the seas from Phaselis to Cyanea, nor was  
 “ there a reciprocative condition on the part of the Greeks, but  
 “ that they were to desist from hostility with Persia.”

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Front. Strateg.  
L. 4. C. 7.

Diod. Sic.  
L. 12.  
Isocrat. Orat.  
Areopag.

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## C H A P. XIV.

OF THE PRINCIPLES OF HAPPINESS NATIONAL AND PRIVATE  
—OF CONQUEST—OF THE ACQUISITIONS AND POWER OF  
ATHENS.

WHERE is happiness to be found? the man of power who shines the sun of his little sphere, whose every nod is obeyed, and every folly flattered, still restless and ill-contented, pushes forward to new schemes of happiness, and risks his all in pursuit of some untasted acquisition: the wealthy, whose every wish is anticipated by gratification, seems not more blest in his peculiar lot, but peevishly complains of satiety, and listens with attention to the visionary talker of woods and rocks, and the felicity of a rural solitude: ask the hermit “if retirement can afford the promised bliss?” from pride he will perhaps affirm so; but in terms of misanthropy and discontent, which surely evince the folly of the assertion!

*Happiness is no where to be found, but every where to be sought for.* The huntsman lays his account of pleasure, not in the capture, but in the chase of the game; so the greater objects of human attachment interest in the pursuit, and soon give disrelish in the tranquillity of possession. The elastic ether which vibrates, or which flows in the channels of the nerves, and inspirits the mass of the brain, requires motion and expenditure, not to stagnate in torpid compressure, load the blood, and thicken the humours, till the habit is replete with horrors and with melancholy.

DIVINELY

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THE discontented spirit of mankind, so often and so much repro-  
bated by every trifler in metaphysics, is then found to be-

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**consistent**

CHAP. consistent with their happiness, and necessary to their improvement; nor is the mental inquietude of all, or particular ambition of the great, fit subject of contempt to the sage, or of his wonder or commiseration.

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SUCH is the recondite principle of that ardour for acquisition which impels an individual to gain, and a state to conquer; and particularly such states as admit, from their constitution of government, of individuals possessing in greater numbers a more direct and more powerful political influence; and it may be shown, that the effect of such influence, in its brightest career of victories and glory, is subversive of a free commonwealth, and co-operating, with other seeds of dissolution, to a change of government, and ruin of the country.

THE restless spirit, above described, urging each to that exertion which his bent of mind most readily applies to, will, under a monarchic, or the controul of other restrictive government, of necessity expend itself in art or science, or in something, which without molestation of any, may turn to the account of all; but in a free state, each individual, having some share in the political concern, is likely to prefer that peculiar field of exercise to his mind, and in proportion to its spirit and vigour, may progressively in his active course overleap the bounds of prescriptive order and safe administration. In a monarchy every situation is open but one: the visionary may pursue honours with as little detriment to the community, as the merchant his trade, or man of learning science, or man of genius art: but in a commonwealth a particular site is allotted to each *on one level*; and the general arrangement is endangered when any would deviate from their fixed place in quest of undue consideration or ascendancy. It is only in times of commotion, or by commotion, that at any rate the desire of extraordinary elevation can effect its purpose; and

and hence, in the great book of experience we find the histories of a republican people more frequently and more strongly marked by epochs of intestine tumult, and of foreign wars; the latter seem the happier side of the alternative; yet from the moment conquest is the object of its policy, the existence of the commonwealth is coeval only with the course of its victories. Grant that it conquer without loss of people or diminution of funds; suppose the leaders to be actuated by none but public ambition, and that they return to their private occupation and rank without murmur and without party; suppose every favourable circumstance, even to a paradox:—the successful war has added some city or some province; and will not such accession be the ruin of the capitol? I will yet wave the course of luxurious pride concomitant to national felicity; I will confine my reasoning to the peculiarities of a republican sovereignty: this city, this province, how is it to be governed? says Tacitus, “*quid aliud exitio Atheniensibus fuit, quanquam armis pollerent,*” “*nisi quod subiectos pro alienigenis arcerent?*” but the contrary policy, were it not equally dangerous? allow the conquered people the rights of denizons; let them in their respective cities partake the free constitution of the superiour state: if not partaken in an equal degree, the result of what has been granted, is in the course of things a requisition of what has *not* been granted; if in an equal degree, but with a reserve of supremacy in points of war, of peace, of revenue, and of regulations of dominion,—with the form of government, will they not imbibe the high spirit and force which distinguish the donors? will they not, as they favour liberty, disrelish command? the tree by natural growth raised above the shrub that sheltered its tender and first shoots, will it not crush it with the exuberance of its branches, exhaust its sources, and poison its head? The wary politician would in answer observe, that a contrary demeanour were of equally destructive tendency: a coercive and absolute command

Tacit. ann. 11.

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over a province annexed to the dominion of a free state, must form a contrast productive of discontent, and every ill consequence hinted at in the words of the historian ; what was gained by force must be retained by similar means, and in times of trouble will be found not an accession to, but encumbrance on the republic : it may be added, that the armies and garrisons necessary to constrain such province, are dangerous to the virtue and liberty of their employers ; and that citizens of the superiour state, [87] entrusted with a command foreign to the spirit of their own constitution, will grow tainted by the examples of subserviency and habitudes of power, and return to corrupt the principles of their countrymen, and to innovate on the commonwealth.

Machiav. Disc.  
L. 2. C. 4.

WE must conclude then that extensive conquests are destructive to the people whose form of government approaches to the free or democratic ; and that among the principles of their decline is that instinctive activity, pushing on to acquisitions dangerous to, and corruptive of the possessors.

ON a review of the particular situation of Athens, from the casualties of the Persian war, and from the ill policy of the allies ; it is yet not to be wondered at, that the leaders were influenced, or people mislead, to a destructive system of insatiable conquest : opportunity courted them with an ever present and assiduous smile ; the advantages seemed great as they were present and obvious ; the dangers were out of sight, or seemed visionary, as they were distant and obscure.

Justin. L. 3.  
C. 6.  
Thucyd. L. 1.  
§ 95. & seq.

THE annual subsidy entrusted to the administration of the Athenians amounted to four hundred and sixty talents, and from that, and other resources, ten thousand talents had gradually been amassed ; Delos indeed was the place appointed for the deposit, but the treasurer was chosen and resident at Athens, and his disposal

posal of these funds was unaccounted for to the other states of the league. Not less firm was the sovereignty over the persons, than over the fortunes of the allies, whilst the military authority of Cimon was strengthened by the affection and gratitude of the Asiatic and other Greeks whom he freed, whom he rescued, or whom he pardoned.

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Plut. Vit. Ci-  
mon.  
Diod. Sic.  
L. 11.

THE city rebuilt on a new plan, and the fortifications erected on an improved and larger scale, gave an ease and security to the inhabitants, wherein ingenuity found leisure for new acts of hostility and defence; whilst the Piræus was crowded with artificers, whom experience as seamen had taught justly to estimate their work as shipbuilders, and to add to, or alter their mechanism from circumstantial recollection of deficiency or inconvenience. To their complement of fleet, twenty ships were added by Themistocles, and daily it was encreasing: gold and silver abounded in the city: the captives were numerous, and the rich feared not to trust the menial arts, and their domestic concerns, to the hands of slaves; whilst the citizens, whose fortunes were yet to make, gave up the hammer for the sword, or the plough for the oar: easy was it to inspirit these greedy adventurers, and eager were the demagogues to use their influence, embarked in the same pursuit of wealth, and urged by superior quest of glory.

Ibid.

Plut. Vit.  
Themist.

AMBITION is but a prouder species of avarice; gain equally produces desire; possession is equally wide of content; for as the object is, nor in the one, nor in the other case, enjoyed, it cannot satiate: having received much, the Athenians soon learnt to demand more; and the crisis co-operating with their wishes, from an irregular and capricious exaction, they progressively adopted a fixed scheme of conquest, and a concerted system of command. No longer insecure in their domestic concerns, many of the petty states grew tired of distant cam-

Thucyd. L. 1.  
§ 99. & seq.  
Diod. Sic.  
L. 11. & 12.



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paings, and were desirous of repairing the ravages of war by assiduous attention to the arts of peace; to such the Athenians permitted the wished-for retirement, provided that for the deficiency of men, they proportionally added to the pecuniary and naval subsidies; the ships they manned with their own citizens, and the monies they applied to the ornament of their city, or reserved it for future exigencies; and thus the nation became warlike, and the state wealthy. Others, equally ill-satisfied with the continuance of hostilities, but more acute in penetrating the policy, and more bold in preventing the designs of the Athenians, harangued in the haughty tone of opposition, and seceded from their command; but the prior attachment of many, and the concessions of other cities had rendered such attempt nugatory, and at this crisis more fatal to the liberties of Greece than even acquiescence; for each refractory state, subdued under the pretext of delegated authority, became an accession to the particular dominion of Athens, and was itself the means of a more absolute exercise, and of a wider extent of power: thus the superiority at sea was strengthened by the conquests of Ægina and Eubæa, and thus the contumacy of the Thasians afforded pretence for the seizure of their gold mines, and but served to encrease the funds of the already too powerfulre public.

Plut. Vit. Periclis. ejusd.  
Vit. Cimonis.  
Thucyd. L. 1.  
Diodor. Sic.  
L. 11. & 12.

VOLUNTARY subsidies to the general deposit soon became the grounds of imperious exaction, nor was the controul long confined merely to subjects of common revenue; thence arose the necessity of regulation; and, on the grounds of regulation, thence issued from Athenian generals, and from Athenian assemblies, military orders and popular decrees, affecting the independancy of each inferior state in alliance; till finally, on precedent and on habit, the sovereignty of Athens became so strongly entrenched, that many of the petty republics deemed it expedient to negotiate terms of surrender, and their compromise legitimated

glutinated the possession. Nor did the Athenians rest satisfied with the flux of dominion which the nature of their command drew within its own proper channel, and then directed in a course subordinate to their commonwealth : but they sought every occasion of dispute as means of acquisition ; and when discontent could not even coin a pretext for hostility, by holding forth a treacherous protection to each free city, they found in its intestine commotions new means of usurpation, and in its foreign quarrels new subject of conquest : the Megarenses applied for the aid of the Athenians against Corinth, and the consequence was the stationing of an Athenian guard in the citadel of Megara ; the Milesians required assistance against Samos, and the result of the alliance with Miletus was the possession of Samos. Whenever some ill-judging city thus called in their aid, gratitude at least demanded an acquiescence in the Athenian policy of sending their own supernumeraries, to inhabit part of the conquered or ceded territory ; and too late such colony was found to be an ever-encroaching neighbour, and in times of trouble an authoritative garrison. This mode of colonization was a favourite policy of Athenian administration, and not restricted to countries they were in treaty or at variance with, but by a cautious foresight was extended to every remote spot, whereto the course of victory might direct their interests or designs : Pericles expedited a number of emigrants who seized the country of the Sybarites, and under the appellation of Thurii, even in Italy, established a settlement mindful of the Athenian authority and name : these, if not effective of subordination in the adjacent parts through power, might at least conciliate their neighbours by attention and favour ; and thus every way some force accrued to the original republic from the measure ; for, to attack powerful allies, was another master point in the Athenian councils : with this view the pretensions of Inarus to the Ægyptian dynasty, were, during six years, supported against the Persian ; and with

Diodor. Sic.  
L. 12.  
Thucyd. L. 1.  
Plut. Vit. Periclis.  
Thucyd. § 1.

Isocrat. Paneg.  
Diod. Sic.  
L. 12.

Ctesias in  
Persic.  
Thucyd. L. 7.  
§ 111.

CHAP. XIV. this view an attempt was made to reinstate Orestes in the throne of Theffaly.

Plut. Vit.  
Periclis.

Diodor. Sic.  
L. 11.  
Thucyd. L. 1.

Plut. Vit. Ci-  
mon.  
Pausan. in  
Att.  
Thucyd. L. 1.  
§ 188.

THE still keeping up the claim to arbitrary taxation, under pretence that the Persian was meditating a renewal of hostilities; the encrease of the assessment from four hundred and fifty to six hundred talents; the removal of the public bank from Delos to Athens; and the various steps above cited tending to uncontrollable power, might well be supposed to rouse the attention of Sparta, and the other great republics of Greece. The first important state that coped with the Athenian arms was the Bœotian; but in vain it would oppose their progress; Myronides over-ran and subdued the whole country to the very walls of Thebes. Corinth, and many other great cities, entered at disadvantage into the conflict, whilst Athens, holding forth an insidious welcome to every factious tributary of any other state, divested it gradually of its strength, and contrasted fresh vigour with its decline. The Lacedæmonians would willingly have interposed, but the destruction of their city by an earthquake, and the desolation of their country by the rebellious Helots, kept them too fully employed to give any effectual rebuff to the career of their rivals; nay, they were even reduced to solicit their assistance to forward the siege of Ithomæ, where the insurgents had taken refuge; no sooner was the reinforcement arrived, but from some suspicion it was refused and sent back, and Athens, disgusted at the insult, publicly disclaimed all future friendship with Sparta. Armies then came from Sparta, with intent to succour the oppressed, and circumscribe the encroachments of this growing power; but of a force truly rather calculated to irritate than to quell the enterprising spirit of the Athenians; nor did they act as principals in any war, but assisted occasionally an ally, then made a truce, and then assisted another.

IN

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IN the various contests for power, it is not to be understood that there were no vicissitudes of victory : after six years employed to support the pretensions of Inarus in Ægypt, the fleet of Athens on that service was wholly destroyed ;—joining the Phocians in their war with the Dorians supported by Sparta, the Athenians lost many brave citizens at the bloody but indecisive battle of Tanagra ;—at Oenophrya they beat the Corinthians ;—in the contest for the care of the oracular temple, or holy war, when Sparta, siding with the Delphians, had vested them with the sacred trust, the Athenians ousted again the Delphians and restored that honour to the Phocians ;—finally at Coronea they suffered an entire defeat from the forces of Bœotia, and, in ransom for the prisoners then taken, were obliged to emancipate every city tributary to them within that district, or restore them to the jurisdiction of Thebes. This was the most important check given to the career of Athenian greatness ; yet was it not of moment ; for the power of Athens was never doomed to grow great and spread on inland sovereignty : it was suited rather to diffuse itself on coasts and on islands. Some cities indeed had been taken, and some territories colonized by the Athenians in Thrace, in Thessaly and Upper Greece ; but their empire spread more surely and more firmly on the maritime countries of the Chersonese, of the Hellespont, and of Asia Minor ; and over-ran the islands of Ægina, Eubæa, Lemnos, Samos, Zacynthus, and others. The isles of the Ægean were indeed generally subordinate to the power which had the greater force at sea ; and each having its portion of marine stores and armament, thus fed and encreased the naval power, which was so dangerous to the liberties of a country so maritime as Greece : the force of this remark appears when adverting to the expeditions of Tolmides and of Pericles, who, successively, during these contests, and in retaliation of the Spartan interposition, sailed round the Pelopon-

CHAP.

XIV.

Diod. Sic.  
§ 11.

Thucyd. L. 1.  
§ 188.  
Diodor. Sic.  
L. 11.

Justin. L. 8.  
C. 2.  
Strab. lib. 8.  
& 9.  
Diod. Sic.  
L. 11. & 12.  
Plut. Vit. Periclis.

R

ponnese,

CHAP. ponnese, and at various descents burnt its cities and desolated  
 XIV. the country.

Diod. Sic.  
 L. 11.

MUTUAL necessities at length compassed a general cessation of hostility; the Thebans and Bœotians had fully accomplished the purpose of a defensive war, preserving entire their territory and independance, and moreover their rights, as states of Greece, to a voice in the Amphyctionic council: the Spartans required some respite from the fatigues of war with the Messenians, with the Helots, and with Athens: and Athens required leisure to methodize the wide extended rule she, from good fortune, valour and policy, had acquired. The new and complicated interests of these and other states, seem, however, to have thrown too many difficulties in the way of specific terms of peace; and to avoid the detail of, perhaps impracticable, conditions, the ministers, Chares for Athens, and Charondas for the allies, signed a truce for thirty years: but as Justin observes, “*tam longum otium inimicitiae non tulerunt.*”

Thucyd. L. 1.

Justin. L. 3.  
 C. 7.

IN mentioning the reduction of Samos I have by six years anticipated the event, in order to bring the acquisitions and power of Athens into one point of view: nine years further ensued ere the hostilities commenced, which have afforded matter for the pen of Thucydides; and during these periods, manners, genius, commerce, policy, and liberal arts, made such speedy and excellent attainments, as lead me with ardour and delight to a consideration of those interesting subjects.

CHAP.

## C H A P. XV.

CHAP.  
XV.OF THE MANNERS OF THE PEOPLE, AND OF THE STATE OF  
THE REPUBLIC AT THE CLOSE OF THE PERSIAN WARS.

WE are now arrived at the period of history when the republic of Athens had reached its summit of power and dominion, and at the same time had attained the means of government, adequate to its extent and necessities: *the state* was become most wealthy; its people were become numerous and inured to war, and from the habits of a naval war were become bold and expert on the seas, and suited to the purposes and enterprize of trade: its citizens were become versed in public business, whether touching exterior policy or domestic management;—its statesmen and military leaders were experienced in each department; and its vigour was yet hitherto unimpaired by corruption, and its constitution unbroken by popular frenzy, or by the intrigues which individuals, distinguished by riches or ability, might be supposed to create. The institutions which provided against the dangers to be apprehended from such description of men, had been cautiously enforced; and Themistocles, Cimon, and Aristides, had been banished by the Ostracism. The exile of Aristides *the just*, hath suggested subject of sympathetic declamation and ill-timed reproach on this jurisdiction to Plutarch and others;—but Aristides was a man most dangerous to the commonwealth; others had their ambition, their plot, and their party; but *he* sought to make a party of the people against their constitution: it was he who moved decrees repeatedly extending their power and privileges, breaking in upon the wise and distinctive regulations of Solon, levelling the

CHAP. degrees of Census, and opening even the archonship to the citizens at large : his banishment was a proof of their virtue ; that of the profuse Cimon, of their moderation ; that of Themistocles, of their wisdom.

AT this height or acmè of the republic, it affords an object which, in the design of this treatise, should fix our particular attention, ere we proceed to the further investigation of its history : in the future course of that history each consequence will thus more obviously, and forcibly appear as connected with its special cause ; and effects distinguishing this epoch, being at the same time assigned back to the circumstances whence they originated, we shall seem here to seize a vantage-ground, whence we may, through the joint medium of experience and speculation, view the whole course of the republic.

ON the emancipation of Athens from the power of the Pisistratidæ, the energy which that state immediately displayed, is to be placed much to the account of the spirit of the constitution it then adopted ; infusing, with the self-confidence which each citizen derived from his share in a free commonwealth, the patriotism which moderates, assimilates, and unites the passions, the reason, and the force of a whole people. Hence the determined spirit which frustrated every insidious and every open attack ! hence the successful resistance to the hostile jealousy of the Peloponnese ! and hence, in the field of Marathon, that firmness, the effect of an union of minds and interests, which no numbers could subdue ! Reasons deduced from the nature of its government, considered exclusively, are applicable only to the defensive force of Athens ; the extension of its acquirements and views in point of sovereignty, is to be sought in the further consideration of natural as well as political advantages, which combined to elevate the republic to the height which it progressively attained

attained in the short space of thirty-five years, from the flight of Xerxes, to the truce with Sparta.

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XENOPHON, in his treatise on revenue, enumerates, amongst the natural advantages of Attica, its silver mines, its quarries of marble, its temperate climate, and its extraordinary fertility; but its central situation in respect to Greece, to the islands of the Ægean, and to Asia, to the Hellespont, and to Ægypt, and its commodious havens open to every wind from every quarter, were advantages which transcended those of produce and local wealth in the scale of nations. Hence Athens was the general resort of the traders of every country, and the common emporium of the known world;—where alone the barter was not *in kind*, but money the *certain* medium of traffic, and where all “that was delicious in Sicily, Italy, Cyprus, Ægypt, Lydia, or in Pontus, “was in greater excellence and with more certainty to be “purchased than in the respective countries;” says Isocrates, “what in each is most difficult to be attained, is here to be found “in common with other rarities exposed at open market.” To this trade, in its generality exclusive, Xenophon adds the monopoly of naval stores, solely and in itself the source of every other, and of power as well as of wealth. From the commercial habits of the Athenians arose that turn to navigation, and experience in marine concerns, which under Themistocles gave them the lead, and opposed them to the Phœnicians in the great conflict of Salamis; and afterwards, from the confidence which their conduct in naval affairs had justly inspired, vested in them the empire of the seas, by the general and free [88] suffrage of their countrymen. The use they made of this delegated power was the obvious result of a command so unbounded, and so new to themselves, as well as to those who submitted to them; and arose naturally from the ordinary passions of men, and from the circumstances of the times: the means of acquiring wealth and power

Isocrat. Panath.

Xenoph. περὶ  
προσόδων.  
C. 3. § 2.  
Xen. Pol. Ath.  
C. 2. § 2.

Isocrat. Paneg.

Xen. Pol. Ath.  
C. 2. § 11. &  
12.

Herodot.  
Uran.

Isocrat. Paneg.



power being put into their hands, the Athenians availed themselves of those means; having been made quæstors of Greece; they continued quæstors on their own account; having been constituted admirals of Greece, the tendency of such authority was to perpetuate itself into a sovereignty over all the maritime states; and each progress in its career, whether it were the capture of a ship or of an island, diffused and strengthened at once the inclination and the powers, to convert a temporary rule into an established dominion. When Xenophon says, that "of all states, [89] Athens flourished most in times of peace;" it is in a general and commercial view that he regards the subject, for his instance was an exception.

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XV.

Thucyd. L. 1.

Xenoph. *πρωτ.*  
*εφεσσοδωρ.*  
C. 4 § 2.

Diod. Sic.  
L. 14.

Isocrat. Orat.  
*πρωτ. 1197.*

CIMON added to the navy and trade of Athens three hundred and forty vessels, and the twenty thousand slaves, and the wealth, himself and others brought into the city, served to freight and equip these ships, and extend the views of the merchant, as well as the naval force of the state; whilst the subsidies becoming a mere tribute swelled the ordinary revenues of the republic. The resources too, which it acquired by extending its dominion and interests, through the colonizing those territories ravaged and depopulated during the war, with its poorer citizens, and with the adventurers who had sought Athens as the seat of enterprize, and with those who had sought it as the refuge from tyranny, and asylum of the oppressed or unfortunate, are to be placed to the similar account of its navy; which facilitated distant expeditions, the conveyance to a settlement, and the protection of the colony. Isocrates, in his famous oration *de pace*, has expatiated on the mischiefs and ruin attending a dominion of the seas, its corruptive course [90], its short-lived career, and the private vices and political evils that ensue, and destroy the state which has possessed it: yet he allows, and it forms part of the example which he has adduced, that such power quickly raises and

and extends, though finally it depraves a state, and then subverts itself: for our present purpose the prior inference is sufficient; it aggrandized the republic of Athens, and at the close of the Persian wars, and contests between the Greeks which immediately followed, raised it to such a height, as warranted the Corinthian delegate to assert in the face of Greece, "that the power of Athens was equal to that of them all."

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XV.

Thucyd. L. I.

THUCYDIDES, in his first book, laments that in his time there was no writer but Hellanicus, who filled up, and that but cursorily, the period of history from the Persian war to the times he undertook to *perpetuate*: this period of fifty years himself as cursorily fills up, and Plutarch and Diodorus seem to have possessed few materials more than what Thucydides afforded them; for I place to little political account, the anecdotes and apothegms of the former: yet in regard to external intercourse, and to the immediate events which led to the aggrandisement of Athens, the data of history may suffice to the purpose of our enquiry:—but here I could have wished to rest, and to have followed our republic step by step, in its career of *civil conduct*, as well as of foreign enterprize; for it is to the characteristics of these times,—it is to this stationary point to which consideration must revert,—in search for the immediate causes which accelerate the decline of the Athenian, and every other free state, when lapsed beyond that pinnacle of splendid elevation, whence the descent is rapid in proportion to the height of freedom and force previously attained.—This as a landmark in history should be rendered clear and conspicuous, as at once the eminence whence political speculation may set forth with advantage, and the scope to which it may recur, when tracing back the course of republican dissolution from the vale of depravity and servitude.—On these accounts the most accurate and circumstantial investigation is now desirable; but whatever regards domestic manners and in-

Ibid.

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ternal administration in these distant times, is elucidated by too cursory or too doubtful authorities: the vague allusions of Plato and Aristotle, the brief remarks of the antiquarian Pausanias and geographer Strabo, and the hyperboles of the orators, and particularly of Isocrates and the funeral encomiasts (whose business it was to laud the past and dispraise the present) afford data of enquiry so imperfect, or so little to be confided in, that in estimating the effect of progressive wealth and dominion on the constitution of the commonwealth, and on the morals of the people of Athens, much is left to speculation;—much is to be deduced from such trivial grounds of matter, or from such collateral matter as time hath left us; and all that becomes us, is to be wary;—and adapting general conclusions to the partial recital of an imperfect series, that we connect each link of the chain, with the strictest regard to political analogy and experience.

Isocrat. orat.  
Arcopag.

THE constitution of the commonwealth and morals of the people I complicate together; in no state can they be separated; so true is the axiom of Isocrates, that not decrees, [91] but manners, speak the constitution of government; or in other words, not laws, but the obedience which is payed to them.

CONSIDERING the commonwealth as instituted by Solon, and as re-established by Clisthenes, it hath been observed that whatever general denomination may have been given to its form of government, undoubtedly the larger mass of the people had but little influence and authority, though they were in possession of general freedom and privileges: opulence, however regulated by agrarian and sumptuary laws, and pretensions of family, however obliterated by general and equal claims under the spirit of the constitution, separated the noble and wealthy few from the many, who necessitated to seek subsistence from the menial arts, were contented to forego public occupation and consequence; and  
from

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from the bent and habits of life coincided with the intentions of their legislator to entrust the great functions of state exclusively to those, from whom the exacted qualification of property warranted a more perfect sense of responsibility : nor did this forbearance imply a disregard of the commonwealth, whilst that responsibility was to the people at large.

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AT the period we are now arrived at, such moderation could no longer be supposed to distinguish the commonalty, whom the circumstances of the times had approximated to the higher classes, (or rather had mingled all classes together,) whilst the Persian wars stamped with honour every name inscribed on the trophy of Marathon ; and whilst the spoils of Salamis and Plataea devolved hereditary opulence on the family of almost every combatant in those memorable conflicts.

Diod. Sic.  
L. 12. § 2.

THE riches of the conquerors flowed from the triple source of military prize, of territory, and of captives ; and the latter employed in the meaner handicrafts and trades, allowed leisure and disengagement, as well as competence to each citizen ; who, buoyed up with national pride, and the elevation of his country, chose to mingle in her councils, with the self-consequence of having fought her battles and conducted to those victories, which encreasing her empire, encreased the subjects of public business, and importance of employ.

THE work-shop being given up for the assembly, more citizens crowded into action, more individuals became public men, and the state of Athens became more democratic.

Plut. Vit.  
Aristid.

THE growing taste of the people, for political interference, was flattered and promoted by those leaders, who sought to purchase their favour and applause ; the obstacles to popular ambition were

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removed

removed by successive decrees, annulling ancient distinctions, founded in the old system of landed interest, and in the policy of Solon, who sought to temperate the democracy with institutions suggested by more partial governments. To these causes of change in the constitution of the republic, Plutarch adds that of the long

Plut. Vit. Cimon.

walls built by Cimon to connect the upper city with the Piræus, before separate and fortified apart: "these walls (says he) taking within the common circuit of the city, the residence of the commercial and seafaring populace, they thenceforward more readily mingled in the public assemblies; ever joined, and often originated, the clamour of the day, and abetted alternately the designs of a favourite, or furious resentments of the commonalty." The dangers hence to be apprehended were the greater,

Plut. Vit. Periclis.

as whilst Aristides opened the highest offices of state to the claims of the poorest citizen, Ephialtes degraded the dignity of the Areopagus by introducing the custom of frequent appeals from that jurisdiction to the assemblies; and thus enlarged at once their sphere of ambition, of policy, of favour, and of justice. The evil effects of laying so many new powers, and of bringing so much new matter before the commonalty, were not instantaneous, nor enter into the scene of government now before us. New powers are ever at the outset administered with virtue and moderation; a Plebeian consul at Rome, and a Plebeian archon at Athens, on the first admission of the respective pretensions, were in either state uncommon instances of the peoples' availing themselves of the rights they had been most earnest to attain; nor doth it appear that the ultimate resort of justice was conducted otherwise than with modesty and with rectitude. It is an observation [92.] of Isocrates, that in these times, "it was as difficult to make office acceptable to any, as in his time to find a man who did not solicit it." If we may credit the reference of the Greek sophists and orators to this happy period,—what liberty had gained, good government had not lost:

Isocrat. orat. Areopag.

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its administration was yet firm and consistent, the decrees of the state wise, their execution prompt, and obedience to them so implicit, that it warranted Plato to assert, " that [93] the people " were at once masters of, and slaves to the laws ;" and this spirit of subordination he places to account of the dangers which menaced them from the stupendous invasion of the Persians, which instilled a sense of union among themselves, of adhered to their institutions, and of acquiescence in their regulations, and in the command of those they entrusted and empowered, as their sole resource of strength adequate to so great occasion. The pride and love of glory, resulting from the consequences of those wars, for a time sustained that spirit which had been the means of success, and made the citizens just and disinterested in the exercise of their republican power, as they had been bold and zealous in asserting their pretensions to it ; and in defending it, as well against usurpers within their state, as against foreign invasion.

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Plat. de Leg.  
L. 3.

THE effect of public habits on the domestic demeanour of the Athenians would alone afford some grounds of enquiry ; but further, the genuine sources of information, respecting the subjects of manners and of morals, lay in the simple theories of the human mind and passions ; in the investigation of facts which may be presumed to have an uniform connection therewith, and, finally, in a speculative combination of men and things : or, reverting from consequences to their causes, they are to be searched out in the assumption of taste from the objects of predilection ; and in the assumption of social conduct from the effects which we are acquainted with, and which can be presumed to have originated from no other source, than the actual manners of the age. Can we read the sublime tragedies of Æschylus, and particularly that of the *Persæ*, nor suppose them penned in conformity to an enthusiastic spirit of virtue, patriotism,

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Pausan. in Att.  
Xen. Pol. Ath.

Isocrat. Paneg.  
Xenoph. περὶ  
ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν.

and renown ; which dignifying the audience, incited the poet to touch such passions, as being most general and interesting, as awakening attention, and as ensuring applause ? When we read those of Sophocles, who quickly followed the father of the drama, and who flourished too in these times, can we entertain a doubt, that the people who generally attended and were enamoured with such representations, and who bestowed successive gratuities and honours on such writers, were of no frivolous character, but impregnate equally with the taste of poetry, and with the sense of glory ; which never accompany mean habits of selfishness, low debauchery, and idle gratification ? The pomp of their festivals, bespeak equally the magnificent spirit of the people ; and if, from their attention to such subjects beyond other nations, ought else is to be deduced, it is a superstition that drew at least the attention of the citizens still further from dissolute vices and degrading pursuits : nor was this superstition intolerant ; but, whilst in its splendour it drew to itself and circulated the articles of commerce, it bore with all the nations and sects which commerce attracted to its *emporium* of Athens. We are warranted in affixing to this æra of manners, national pride connected with philanthropy ; and in painting the strict republican character, as endowed with the complacent virtues of hospitable intercourse, when we advert to the reception of strangers, and even to the treatment of slaves. The dominion of the seas, and the connections of trade, must have habituated many citizens to foreign excursions ; many too, from other countries, became their guests in return ; national prejudices were thus broken in upon ; the minds of men became more knowing and enlarged ; and the people were taught to comprize others, as well as Greeks, within the circle of their benevolence : their very slaves partook of that benevolence ; they bore no badge of servitude, but were cloathed as citizens ;

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the laws protected them equally from insults and from blows, and their several merits and accomplishments raised them proportionally to a certain rank in society, though never in the state.

CHAP.

XV.

Xen. Pol. Ath.  
C. 1. § 9. 10.  
11.

THIS complacency of manners, originating from other sources than the long habits of diffusive intercourse, implies no depraved or luxurious customs of life: an Athenian feast was proverbial with surrounding nations for an homely entertainment; nor can the propriety of the application be doubted, when we read of Pericles, and of others, the first men in Athens, meeting at a friend's house, followed severally by a slave bearing a small portion of provisions for the master's diet: I must obviate any reference on these topics to the convivial discourses of the Greek sophists, and particularly to the curious symposium of Xenophon, by reminding the reader, that they were written long after these virtuous times, and that the pictures therein are drawn from subsequent habits of life. In this age there seems to have been little private luxury, or even private ostentation employed in any degree or object: when we are told, that the houses of Themistocles, of Cimon, and of Aristides, and of other great men, were no ways distinguishable from those of their poorest neighbours; when we consider this exterior equality, and the intrinsic one too of rights and of freedom; and when we observe that the sole ascendancy in these times was of ability and of virtue, and that on such jointed basis alone the elevation of those men was founded, and yet when it rose too high, was beaten down and destroyed;—we might almost be led to consider the Athenian state, in its interior policy and management, as transcending the perfections of united systems, which reclusive politicians have imagined in their visionary models of government:—but that weal ready descry bursting from the seed those seeds of corruption and ruin, which the wealth of Persia so widely disseminated.

Athenæ. L. 10.  
Ibid. L. 8.  
Laur. vall. de  
conviv. Vet.

Demost. Orat.  
§ 46.

Diod. Sic.  
L. 12. § 1.



feminated. The accumulated riches of the state, and of its citizens too individually, however lay not hidden in coffers:—private temperance as yet rejected their abuse; but private thrift threw the superfluities from œconomical management into funds for aggrandisement of the state, or splendor of the city.


Isocrat. Pa-  
nath.

DOMESTIC parcimony is no ways incompatible with public magnificence: the citizens of Athens had yet the feelings of patriotism, were yet capable of sympathizing with the glory of the commonwealth, and of sacrificing thereto some portion of more private interests, and more selfish concerns: *their forefathers* loved their country, *they* were proud of it; and pride for a time propped up that fabric which virtue had raised. The first suitors of the fair mistress, Athens, were sentimentally attached to the soul (as Isocrates emphatically terms the spiritual tenor of the political institution;) their successors too were yet constant to the fair; but it was a grosser passion for the sensible object, and was no longer displayed by a brave and knight-like assiduity of service, and a subserviency of morals to the pure and correct pattern of the republic, but was shown in a prodigality of ornament and a profusion of wealth, corruptive of, [94] and ruinous to, the very patriot-love that lavished it: for an attachment to sensible objects passes almost with the novelty, and further the mind degenerates into a vicious levity.

WHEN the Athenians began to view, with rapture and pride, the beauties of their city, the splendid array of their fleets, and to glory in their grandeur and opulence; they gloried indeed in what was external and quickly perishable, and they gloried too in what was distinct from the pure sources of exultation in a free commonwealth;—the sentiment of union, of virtue, and of liberty, and the honest heartfelt pride of having repaid the benefits of government by service and support: yet still something in  
common

common was at heart; nay, the very cement of the public weal for the moment seemed more binding and strong, as if locked up by a frost, but to perish with the dissolution of the season. In a former period, men gave up their very sustenance, their very lives, for the well-being, for the life of the republic; they now made the smaller sacrifice of private to public luxury, and lived thriftily at home, to add to the pomp of the festival, to the apparel of the theatre, or to the decoration of the city. Self-love, indeed, by a penetrating eye, might be discovered in its passage homewards; it seemed to have withdrawn from the extreme periphery of the social system, and might be supposed shortly to plot within a contracted circle, and confuse and break the compact with jarring interests and designs. A licentiousness resulting from the extension of democratic liberty, an avarice proceeding from the habitual application to encreasing commerce, an avidity of power growing with the enlargement of empire, an ambition rising and spreading with the occasions of signalizing military genius and civil capacity, and even the fine arts softening the minds of men, and preparing them for new indulgencies and new luxuries, might be anticipated from the points of view this æra affords, and add force to the speculation. Ere I push forward into these prospects which open before us, a subject, which, perhaps I should apologize for, as digressive in a treatise professedly of political tendency, pleads for introduction.

A DISTINGUISHED consequence accrued from the spirit of public magnificence, preceding the turn for domestic splendour: it was hence that *Grecian art* so suddenly attained an excellence which in no other country, and in no other age, hath been surpassed; and surely in the article of sculpture hath remained unrivalled even to these times of modern refinement. Public magnificence is ever most favourable to the progress of the arts; honours,

CHAP. Xv.  nours, religion, inscriptive fame, all conspire to instigate genius of the first magnitude; whereas mere retribution, flowing from opulent individuals, excites avarice and voluptuousness; passions of a meaner temper, but which, of stronger force, bear down those of glory and distinction: the mercenary and luxurious, preferring money and pleasures to *their art*, sacrifice their genius and its predilections to whatever may be the taste, and however mean it may be, of the patronage they court.

## CHAP. XVI.

## OF ARTS.

CHAP.  
XVI.

**T**HE man whom exercise hath trained to run easily with speed, will run with grace: the mind too not only becomes vigorous, but elegant, from the frequent use of its powers; what it hath begun it will have the sagacity to finish; and what completed the spirit to refine: no longer satisfied with a trite road of practice, it will at length deviate into new paths, wherein to exercise its activity or strength; as it is allured by fairer prospects of pleasure, or expelled its wonted career by a sense of obstacle or annoyance.

WHEN a free state is in that point of its progression, that finished law and method have rendered frequent interposition unnecessary but to the immediate agents of the commonwealth, the active mind, disgusted with the sameness and facility of public practice, will recur to private life; and busily add convenience to necessities, and luxury to convenience: each sense is then plied with enjoyment, till each object palls upon the taste; and successively the powers of art are called upon for new and more accomplished excellence, to charm the ear, to fix the eye, or to enrapture the fancy.

ART hath thus in some countries attained maturity, but its decline hath ever been rapid; for to rest contented with a stile of sculpture or of literature, were to forego pursuit; and this being incompatible with mental inquietude, true science, as well as every thing else, has had its vicissitudes, and yielded to that

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fondness

fondness for novelties which is the spring of all human undertakings : painting hath deviated [95] into extravagance or littleness ; architecture hath lost its effect in finical ornament ; poetry been buried in the quaintness of conceit ; and even history in search of novel excellence hath wandered into the familiar, the marvellous, or the obscure. — When, from the absolute perversion of government, politics are become dangerous, and a man no longer with safety can mingle in public administration, or securely even busy himself in private concerns ; — the intellect, uneasy in sloth, will recur to a proper object, and veiling the proscribed activity in platonic speculation, or obviating its consequences with stoic firmness, will seek new life and motion from philosophy : Socrates, the first great moral preceptor, fell amidst the ruins of the Athenian republic, and the sectaries of Zeno chiefly flourished under the tyranny of the Cæsars.

WITH an eye to the gradation of government, it is probable that art will fore-run philosophy ; and that the growing wealth, the pride of family, and love of distinction, may launch into the virtues of beneficence or vanities of patronage, previous to the dissipated luxury productive finally of those revolutions, when the mind must, under the necessity of the times, seek some alleviation from silent system, or steel itself against actual evils by apathy, or blunt their force by anticipation : says Tacitus [96], *postquam cædibus sævitum, et magnitudo Famæ exitio erat, cæteri ad sapientiora convertère* : — as the plenitude of power corrupts the despot, so the impotence of resistance forms the sage, nor under the casualty of their respective fortunes belongs it to ought but to the divine eye to penetrate the recess, and scan the merits of each character : — the tyrants may have been the better composition ! — O man of virtue, pity the criminal and be humble !

Tacit. Ann. 3.

PERHAPS

PERHAPS too, art may have the prior place [97] from its more immediate connection with the wants of mankind; the wooden bowl is polished to the hand and delights the touch; it is engraved and pleases the eye; the trunk in its elevation naturally pushes forth new branches, and successively ramifies on each shoot, till lost in the minutest tendril!

CHAPTER  
XVI.

PERHAPS too, philosophy may come last in succession, as being of that high and ethereal cast, as to require every previous experience and exercise, to strengthen and enlarge the mind, and render it at once capacious for its theories, and firm for its practice!

PERHAPS too, when want is provided for, every desire served, even fancy satiated, and we can go no further; to obliterate disappointment we find out that we ought not; and pretending to adopt from choice what we are driven to by force, become slaves of necessity!

FREE states (it hath by many been observed) are the best nursery-bed of the arts; and other states (it will be observed) have ran a career somewhat similar to that of Athens; and have known a period when emulation, sickening in the stagnation of public services and duties, might be supposed to invigorate in others scenes of employment; and wherefore then (it may be asked) "Is the Athenian name so singularly pre-eminent in the annals of polite taste and ingenious workmanship?" and even in exception to the general reasoning above stated, as these people seem to have anticipated the æra of political decline alluded to, and to have blended these accomplishments with their brightest course of republican vigour, and national energy?

## CHAP.

## XVI.



THE reader will remember that soon after the city was rebuilt, the people of Athens became principals in the Persian war; that the new interest was to be established by some extraordinary exertion; and that the gifts of fortune and of fame called forth every Athenian to the field, who had at heart his own honour and consequence in the republic, or those of the republic in relation to Greece: from the elated temper of the young and active citizens, many of the menial trades fell to the numerous captives that thronged successively from each victory: the warriors returning with all the pride of triumph, disdained for the most part to practice the mechanical professions in common with their servants; to find them other employment wherein none but freemen could be competitors, a decree passed forbidding any slave the exercise of sculpture or painting; and the *liberal arts* were thus for ever dignified at Athens. The most exalted spirit, from that period, disdained not the chisel or the pallet; the labour as well as the design equally ennobled genius; the boldest theory thence was combined with the most delicate execution; nor was the time expended on the work, any consideration to the artist, whilst renown was his object; or if avaricious, no price was esteemed too high for a beautiful and finished performance. Pliny tells us that the Laocoon [98] took up the lives of a father and of his two sons; a work, from which the most elaborate mechanic might learn to finish, the most correct draftsman might study precision, and the most sublime poet invention and idea!

Plin. L. 34.  
Cap. 7. &  
Plin. Hist.  
Nat. L. 36.  
C. 8.

ANOTHER circumstance, which conduced particularly to the early refinement and progress of the arts at Athens, was the timely administration of one, who from nature and education had every requisite of judicious taste, and possessed at once the most unbounded power and most liberal spirit that ever ennobled public patronage: Pericles, the son of the Xantippus renowned for the

Plut. Vit.  
Periclis.

the defeat of the Persians at Mycale, comes not at present to our view in the character of minister but of Patron ; his mind opened by the subtilties of his preceptor [99] Anaxagoras, and polished by his intercourse with the accomplished Aspasia ; exercised by the ingenious sophistry of the sage, and refined by the erudite delicacy and elegance of his no less philosophical mistress,—it grew flexible and capacious, it became open and luxurious : luxurious in those objects which through the sense awaken the fancy, and enrapture the soul with the contemplation of symmetric beauty : to feel this divine, this harmonic sentiment, the mind must be in unison with, or beautiful (if I may so express it) as its object ; it must have all the pliable variety, all the enthusiastic wanderings, and that accurate, and that discriminating, spirit which a learned, as well as speculative tutor could exercise it to ; and all the yielding temper, the refined judgment, the squeamish nicety of taste, (in a word) the melody of finished character which may result, and can result only, from the converse of a lovely and beloved woman !

C H A P.

XVI.

Diog. Laert.  
Vit. Anaxag.  
Platon. Men-  
cxen. Dialog.

Mensg. Mus.  
Philos. Hist.

WITH a taste for the liberal sciences and arts, Pericles (how illicitly I will not at present urge) enjoyed the most ample means of recompensing desert, and of fostering genius : the bank of the general contributions had been removed from Delos, and no immediate exigency demanding the application of these monies to the common cause, he converted them to the purposes of embellishing the city, and with an assiduity that soon rendered Athens the ornament, as it had been, the bulwark of Greece : nor did Pericles find it difficult to gain the assent of his countrymen to this misuse of the public funds ; Athens was a mistress endeared by loss, and whose value was enhanced by the difficulties of redemption ; and no citizen grudged to dissipate his own, or even to trespass on the public patrimony, to deck out her beauties, and give new lustre to her name.

Plat. Vit. Per-  
icles.

T H E



CHAP.

XVI.

Plut. Vit. Per.  
riclis.  
Thucyd. L. 2.

THE immortal statuary Phidias was made superintendant of the public works, and by his fame drew together the first artists of Greece, and without envy gave due encouragement to all; for "envy (as Pericles nobly observes in his funeral oration) comes [100] not but from somewhat inferiour to its object."

Plut. Vit. Per.

Xenoph.  $\pi\alpha\rho\iota$   
 $\pi\epsilon\rho\sigma\sigma\omega\delta\omega\nu$  § 4.Strabo, L. 9.  
Plin. Hist.  
Nat. 36. C. 5.Pausan. in  
Att.  
Epictet.  $\Delta\iota\alpha-$   
 $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma$  L. 2. C. 8.

PUBLIC edifices, of the richest and grandest structure, were every where raised: what the magnificence of these buildings was, may be surmised from the sum of a thousand talents, or an hundred and eighty thousand pounds sterling, expended solely on the temple of Minerva, and that at a time when from the multitude of slaves, labour was almost gratuitous, and the finest marbles were the produce of the country. In this temple, called the Parthenion, and built by the architect Setinus, stood a statue of the tutelary goddess, wrought in ivory by the hand of Phidias, and profusely decorated with gold: if this figure is taken as the criterion of the arts at this æra of the Athenian republic, the idea of general excellence of taste and workmanship, transcends all that every other country and every other age can boast: precious as were the materials, Phidias formed this statue six and twenty cubits high, and from the description of Pliny, it yet appears to have been in every part elaborately touched as the most exquisite miniature: the reliefs were chosen from great and complex subjects, and were severally a work that required the first artist, his exertion of genius, and his utmost care in execution: on the area of the shield was sculptured the battle of the Amazons; within its concave the conflict of the gods and giants; on the pedestal was represented the birth of Pandora and the deities; and even the sandals were ornamented with a graving of the Lapithæ and Centaurs; and a victory (weighing forty talents of gold) was held forth in its hand. This statue, of which the total effect riveted the attention in amazement and rapture, was in each detail so finished and perfect, that (says Pliny) the most intelligent eye could with pleasure contemplate even

even the serpent, the sphinx, and other ornaments of the armour. Yet admirable as was this figure of Minerva, it was not the most admired of the works of Phidias; Lucian prefers the statue of Lemnia (or termed Lemnia) on which the artist affixed his name; and his statue of Olympian Jupiter, we are told, was unrivalled: the ancients speak of this latter performance with rapture; even Strabo, on this subject, seems inspired by the god, with an elevation of sentiment suitable to a description of this august representation of divinity; he speaks of this Colossus "as touching [101] the roof of the temple as it sat, "and in that attitude striking the spectator, as if each moment "going to rise, and burst the dome of the hallowed edifice "which enclosed it." It is said, that Phidias took his idea of this statue from the following lines of Homer:

Jove gave the nod, with knit and awful brow;  
His heav'nly hair were ruffled; 'twas the strength  
Of God that mov'd, and all Olympus shook!

HAVING confined the instances of sculpture to Phidias, I shall briefly observe, that Polygnatus too, and others at this period, *began* to excell in painting; but this art seemed yet in its infancy, whilst the works of Phidias have stood unrivalled by subsequent ages. The general question of antecedency, I doubt not to decide in favour of statuary: the ingenious Mr. Webb, in his treatise on painting, has advanced a contrary tenet; but I side with the learned Winckelman [102], and on a favourite subject will hazard a digression in support of his argument. To talk of the perfect knowledge of drawing as previously necessary to the formation of a figure, which on every bearing, and in every light, was to have the just outline of nature, implies a very partial comprehension of the possible beginnings of the art; rather should I suppose (and the reliques of the highest antiquity aid my supposition) that the first models of the human figure

CHAP.  
XVI.

Lucian. de  
imag.  
Plin. L. 34.  
C. 8.

Strab. L. 8.

Iliad. L. 1.  
v. 528.

Plin. Hist.  
Nat. L. 35.  
C. 9.

Histoire de  
l'Art. C. 1.  
§ 1. & C. 4.  
§ 1.

C H A P.  
XVI.

Diod. Sic.  
L. 1.

Ibid. L. 4.

Ibid. L. 2.

Plin. L. 35.  
C. 12.

Odyss. 7.  
(Pope)

figure depended for their correctness on the momentary idea, and precise vision of the artist, and that he plaistered on his clay, or pared its prominencies, till his eye was satisfied with the similitude. There were indeed such statues as the Ægyptian hewn out on diagram rather than design, with acute angles, no grace of limb, no motion, no composition, but an exact and scrupulous length of bone, and conformity of proportions: Dædalus [103] the Athenian, on these granite mummies, I can imagine to have first worked, and to have improved them without the study of drawing, or the assistance of ought other original than nature; to have separated the limbs from their rigid unity with the trunk, to have enlarged some, and to have diminished other parts, till the nice gradations of muscle, and their modulation to attitude, were founded on uniform experience and more exact observation. The portraits of Semiramis and her husband on the walls of Babylon will be quoted from Diodorus; and the lovers shadow penciled round by his mistress, will be cited from Pliny, and many other tales, and much reasoning may be adduced to prove the antiquity of painting; and if I will not allow art to originate from that quarter, the concession will be expected of me at least, that sculpture and painting may be nearly coeval; but not even this can I agree to: nor was the palace of Alcinous, nor other kingly hall decked by the lavish song of Homer, therein decorated with pictures; but

Two [104] rows of stately dogs on either hand,  
In sculptur'd gold and labour'd silver stand;  
These Vulcan form'd with art divine, to wait  
Immortal guardians of Alcinous' gate;  
Alive each animated frame appears.

Nor was the temple or house of Solomon adorned with pictures: in all the eastern metaphors of the *earlier* holy writ, I remember not one exemplification from painting: but, says the  
divine

divine canon, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image." From the figure of man, to form a similar figure, was surely more obvious than to deceive the sense, by that complicated art which gives a just swell and relative depressure to a plane surface. The statue had a simple and obvious original; the man who first stripped the bark from the tree, and smoothed the knotty trunk [105], was in his way to that art, which afterwards stretched to the formation of an Apollo.

AT the time when sculpture was at the highest pitch, then painting began to emulate its excellence; much it was to seek without the pale of imitation, but much too it was to borrow from the prior art; colour, and its contingencies of light and shade, it was to seek for in nature, but the precise outline it could more readily copy from the correct, and unvarying models of a Phidias or Alcamenes: from attention to such finished performances design [106] soon attained a degree of perfection, which no modern work can be supposed to give a just idea of: when Pliny says, that, "*Ambire debet se extremitas, et sic desinere, ut pro-*" *mittat alia post se, ostendatque quæ occultat;*" I confess my eye is but ill satisfied even with the Sistine chapel [107]. Whilst we allow the superiority of design to the ancient painters, let us not extravagantly deal them out every accomplishment of the profession: from the old poets, and from the antiquarians Ælian and Pausanias, and from Lucian and others, I think it may be gathered that the ancient painters delighted much in single figures [108], and that their single figures had all the animation which colour and design could produce; but their more crowded pictures seem to have been of a frigid, or of an extravagant turn of composition; they knew not the technical propriety and disposition of planes; nor do they appear to have been well acquainted with the beauties of effect modulated on the varieties of the aerial medium: in the picture of the battle of Marathon,

Plin. L. 35.  
C. 10.

CHAP.

XVI.

Pausan.inAtt.

Vitruv. Præf.

Plin. L. 35.  
C. 10.Cicero.  
Quæst. Acad.  
1.  
Lucret. L. 1.

besides a very particular delineation of all that passed in that memorable field, the Persian fleet too was descried from afar, *and Cinægyrus* [109] retaining the vessel with his teeth. Their characters must generally, I think, have been better in the detail, than in the group, and each figure, rather than the picture, have been the object of admiration. Though a passage is cited from Vitruvius, mentioning a scene as old as the times of *Æschylus*, drawn *apparently* on just principles of optics, and on which *Anaxagoras* wrote a treatise; and though *Eupompus* (we are expressly told) was of opinion, that a knowledge of geometry was necessary to an exact delineation of the objects in nature; yet cannot I coincide in the idea, that the ancients were masters of a regular and systematic perspective [110]. Particular instances belong rather to the side of exception than of rule; when we are told of one particular scene, I should imagine it to have been singularity which recommended it to notice; when we are told, that one *Eupompus* was of such or such an opinion; it implies, I think, that the generality were not of that opinion.

*NICETAS*, as we learn from *Cicero's* academics; and others, as we learn from the first book of *Lucretius* [111], had a just idea of the figure of the earth; but such system not being the adoption of the age, it is not to be placed to the account of its erudition: it thus little furthered natural philosophy; and as little might the opinion of one individual artist prove the advancement of art.

WITHOUT mathematical knowledge, much may be done; a building may be tolerably drawn, a flying line well conducted, from mere observation, and without any artificial point of sight, or diagram from rule and compass; an acute and steady eye may learn to well distinguish the position, situation, and distance of objects, by showing their proper planes in their proper forms,

and marking the regular and just diminution : but the perspective part of design is then dependant for its accuracy rather on the artist [112], than on the art ; and is liable to gain or lose, as his delicacy of vision corrects, or dullness or inattention perverts it ; whilst, if founded on known and invariable principles, a very mechanic can scarcely err. That the ancients had no such just theory, is sufficiently apparent, I think, from the pictures discovered in the theatre of Herculaneum, and town of Pompeii ; nor will it avail, to say that these were done when painting was in its decline ; the more noble branches of the art, it may not be candid therefore to question from the examples before us ; but the more mechanical parts of the profession might be supposed to have gained ground, as the sublimer fell into decay : had perspective ever been reduced to just principles it would have been perfected on the ruins of the art it was founded on ; its difficulties would have been explored, novel singularities have exercised its truths, and the beauties of design would have been succeeded by professional subtilty and trick : nor will it avail to assert that these works were of some inferior, some provincial hand ; even their great merits apart, the frequent residence of the emperors and Roman nobility on this coast might suggest a contrary idea ; but it is unnecessary to further enforce it, as the previous remark is wholly inconsequent, whilst even in this country (a country by no means distinguished in the chapter of art) scarcely a signpost can be produced whereon are depicted the upper and under surface of the same solid ; a circumstance not uncommon in the otherwise neatly and finely executed reliques of ancient painting.



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T H E  
HISTORY OF ATHENS, &c. &c.

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B O O K   T H E   S E C O N D.

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C H A P.   I.

C H A P.  
I.

OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF PERICLES—OF THE DOMINION  
OF ATHENS—OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR TO THE AR-  
GIVE ALLIANCE.

**T**HE point of perfection is but that of a moment, soon as attained it is passed ; and least of all, the excellence of political constitutions of society, dependant on so many passions of men, and so many contingencies of event, is calculated for any degree of permanency, either as to virtue or prosperity. The delineation of manners and estimate of political œconomy as stated in a preceding chapter, refers to, nor extends beyond, the precise æra of the peace which closed the contests of Athens with Greece, ensuing the contests of Athens and Greece with the powers of Persia. The fifteen years which have elapsed from the epoch of the truce, suited the ordinary and obvious interests.



CHAP.

I.

terests of a commercial state as was Athens, and facilitating and extending its mercantile connections thereby added to its wealth, its numbers, and its navy : but this season, nutrient to its political resources, at the same time fostered and raised up those seeds of internal corruption, which were scattered by the high fortune of the republic in her wanton career of success : the fruits thereof were calculated to infuse a temporary glow of extraordinary beauty and vigour to the state that fed thereon, but secretly they sapped the vitals of its constitution, and ultimately destroyed the spirit and force which they seemed for a while to nourish and extend. When wealth began to distinguish the fortunate from war or trade; and when art had suggested enjoyments, which the passions of men are ever ready to meet half-way, and which wealth alone could procure; progressively gain became the substitute for each worthier motive of action, and soon the sense of public duties yielded to pleasures and to self-interest. Some citizens, relinquishing to certain demagogues all general concerns of state, were absorbed in voluptuous habits of life; others in the lucrative course of trade; and some solicited a participation of riches from the patronage, and others from the apprehensions of able, opulent, and enterprising men, who were beneficent from ambition, or from the sense of responsibility; who wished to possess, or who had possessed the executive offices of government. The lower classes, needy in the individual capacity, were yet collectively powerful in the assembly of the commonwealth; the corrupt means to sooth and to court them having been essayed by high delinquents; the practice too soon relished when once admitted, began to vitiate each popular decree : to sooth and to court, then became necessary to those who had ought to ask, as well as to those who had ought to fear; whilst the people learnt to confer each boon in their public calling with views to remuneration, or generally or in their several private situations. Hence new immunities were success-  
fully

ively proposed to ingratiate the proposer with the commonalty; hence bounties, feasts, and shows, the fruits of military depredation, were by each General given to conciliate the populace; and in default of private wealth, hence Pericles advanced to power, established himself in the administration by largesses from the very funds of the state to its turbulent and mercenary citizens: the struggle of this statesman, to attain as well as to preserve ministerial power, had perhaps more immediately rendered the people turbulent and mercenary.

C H A P.

I.

Plut. Vit.  
Periclis.

Platon. Gorg.  
Dialog.

PERICLES was ennobled by descent from the Xantippus who commanded the fleet at Mycale; this, and his own personal accomplishments, and more particularly an affability towards the ordinary classes of citizens contrasted with a haughty reserve towards the higher ranks, and a natural readiness of speech by study improved into the most refined and elevated eloquence, made him an early favourite with the people; but by the more sagacious citizens remarked as a transcendant character, which might sometimes bear the commonwealth from its proper bias, and the admirable qualities of which were to be regarded as the more dangerous, in proportion to the public favour and notice they attracted. His person too was said to resemble that of Pisistratus, and light as this circumstance should seem, it was the weight that set peoples minds agoing in search of other similitudes, which never existed or never would have been remarked, but for the first ground-work on which fancy wrought, of a semblance of voice and physiognomy. Pericles finding himself thus the object of suspicion; and his manners and even gait, a text on which each cautious republican was to rouse the attention and free spirit of the people, he determined to elude the effects of the public apprehension, by withdrawing for a time from the assemblies wherein he was regarded with so jealous and wary attention: he left the city for the camp, and strived to sub-

Ibid.  
Pausan.in Att.  
Plut. Vit. Pe-  
riclis.

Plat. Menex.  
Dial.

Valer. Max.  
L. 6. C. 9.

Plut. Vit. Periclis.

stitute.

## CHAP.

## I.



Plat. Rep.  
G.r. precept.

Ejuld. Vit.  
Pericles.

Ejuld. Vit Ci-  
monis & Peri-  
clis.

stitute the name of an expert and hardy soldier, for that of a dangerous and plotting citizen : his services deservedly acquired the estimation he sought, but *rendered the citizen yet more dangerous*. To simulate and dissimulate had some time been his necessary study, and so well did he profit of the theory, that on his return he managed to ingratiate himself with, and secure a party, before his opponents were even aware that from their remissness or mistake, he had taken a strong hold in the affections of the people, and which their united powers and policy were insufficient to force, or entice him from. In the party formed by his able and conciliatory genius, he had his subordinate ministers suited to each office of intrigue, of harangue, of enterprize, and of munificence ; his Charinus, his Ephialtes, his Demonides, and his Menippus ; nor whilst priestcraft influences an age of superstition, can we suppose his friend the soothsayer Lampro, to have been without employ : in vain the lavish spirit of Cimon, with feasts and shews attempted to rival him in the good favour of the commonalty ; Pericles opposed prodigality to prodigality, and the sole result of the contest was further licentiousness in the state : in vain the honest sense and valour of Thucydides were patronised by the nobles, and set up to cope with the pretensions of this rising genius—" When I throw him (said Thucydides) he says, " he is not down, and they believe him even when on " the ground : " with his eloquence he carried all before him, and embittered by the repeated attacks of the higher class, he turned its whole current to sap the bulwark of the aristocracy ; licentiousness then poured in with eddies and whirlpools, with streams and with counter-streams, wherein himself indeed was found (but alone found) an adequate pilot to the commonwealth, from whom none could take the helm, and with whom the vessel was wholly to perish.

WHEN

WHEN manners were incorrupt ; when justice ruled at home, and equity abroad ; when in the purity of the institution, all were considered by each, and each by none ; when the individual state leaned to philanthropy, as the individual to the state, and moral fitness was extended to national interests, and was made the rule of national conduct,—administration required no refinement : even as men deviated from (if ever they were blest by) such virtuous system, still a sound intellect and a firm spirit were for a while equal to the ministry of public affairs.—But now to harmonize all the jarring and discordant elements which society was broken into,—to keep together and direct together this heterogeneous and uncemented mass without change and without loss, required an art unknown in former times, an art reserved for the genius of Pericles. To corrupt [113], and to rule by corruption ; to extract unanimity from discordant passions ; to prop succumbing valour with pride ; to deduce the patriot virtues from the animosities of party ; to build a system of dependance on vanity, and for subordination to substitute dependance ; to draw plenty from dissipation, and make the comforts and competence of the many proceed from the extravagance of the few ; in foreign marts to balance commodity by manufacture, and the utility of manufacture by novelty or elegance ; to purchase armies with wealth, and recover wealth with armies, or make negotiations supply the deficiencies of both ;—*these* were the arts of this great man ; great may he be said, for the greatest in these respects have thought him a fit object of their emulation :—well were it, if they considered too the other qualities and merits which raised this character to the high preheminance it holds ! Pericles was truly what Cato said of Pompey,—

— — — — — *salvâ* [114]

*Libertate, potens ; et solus, plebe paratâ,*

*Privatus, parere sibi.*

Lucan. Phars.  
lib. 9.

## CHAP.

## I.

Thucyd. L. 2.  
§ 65.  
Isocrat. orat.  
de pace.  
Plut. Vit. Pe-  
riclis,

His biographer and encomiast Plutarch tells us that it was Pericles who first applied secret-service money to corrupt the enemies of his country; and Plato in his dialogue of Gorgias, says, it was Pericles who first corrupted his country;—but he encroached not on the liberties of the republic, nor though he dissipated the funds of the state, did he raise a fortune on its disbursements; and its treasury was rich on his demise. As he used it to conciliate, so at times did he employ his eloquence to chasten the turbulence of the populace; as from ambition he banished, so from virtue he recalled his competitor Cimon: as rivalry lost ground, he honoured his rivals; and finally sought to restore the patrician influence and anew balance the commonwealth. To gain the lead in public affairs, he had much perplexed, but no one knew better how to unravel them; he had ever some resource for the distresses, some safeguard in the dangers, some honourable means of colouring over the discredit of the republic. Arts and science flourished under his patronage, public spirit was countenanced, and the general welfare and safety, (as far as was compatible with the general corruption) were attended to with a happy insight and resolute practice: as the force of Athens sickened from the depravity of her citizens, he medicated the weakness and substituting art for strength taught her to act with a skill and vigilance, more than equal to manly prowess: the warrior who trembled under the shield, might firmly direct his javelin from the rampart; unsteady in the field he might yet be dextrous on the seas; and hence as to foreign dominion and foreign wars, his system of reliance was not on the force of garrisons in the one case, or of armies in the other, but on the walls and fleets of Athens. The subordinate states being mostly or islanders, or maritime, thereby were more easily to be controuled, and an enemy under the like predicament more easily annoyed; and if desolation was spread through the territory of Attica, the fortress

of

Thucyd. L. 2.  
§ 65.  
Xenoph. Pol.  
Ath. cap. 2.  
§ 2. & seq.

of the city was a sure refuge to the people, and meanwhile its fleets with sudden and unprepared for invasion might make a descent on the enemies coasts, and the balance of conquest and depredation for a time be equally held ;—*for a time*, I say,—for arts may be acquired by those who have them not, but virtue rarely be recovered by those who have lost it.

CHAP.  
I.

It is said that Pericles, or to screen some past malversation, or to make his abilities necessary for the future, or even *from meaner motives* [115], engaged his country in a war : that peace was not so likely to befriend his power is certain ; that he was the immediate or sole cause of the rupture between Athens and Sparta, and, as it is termed, of the Peloponnesian war, is much, and with much reason to be doubted : Thucydides expressly tells us, “ that the dominion of Athens was become too absolute and “ extensive to be any longer regarded with passive envy by the “ great rival states ; they thought even their own liberties endangered, and if they found not, were ready to coin some “ pretext for hostility, and league together to pluck the eagle’s “ wing ere she gained a pitch above the flight of vengeance.” The ostensible history is as follows.

Plut. Vit. Per.  
Diod. Sic.  
L. 12.  
Aristoph.  
Com. Acharn.

Thucyd. L. 1.  
§ 23.

EPIDAMNUS owed its settlement to united colonies from Corinth and from Corcyra ; dissention had thus an original germ in this little state which finally burst forth, and in the commotion many of the most noted and most wealthy of the citizens were compelled to fly the fury of the populace, and take shelter in the neighbouring but barbarous district of the Taulantii : these people they persuaded to aid their design of forcibly reinstating themselves in their country, when the townsmen inveterately bent against their return sent to Corcyra for succour wherewith to repel the attack, and drive the assailants back to the woods : Corcyra refusing assistance, they then ap-

Ibid.  
§ 24. & seq.

## C H A P.

## I.

Thucyd. L. 1.  
§ 35. & seq.

plied to Corinth as being the joint parent state, where their plea was admitted, and forthwith a subsidy voted to back their pretensions and party : Corcyra alarmed at this interposition of Corinth, and fearful lest the Colony of Epidamnus should now totally recur from its protection to that of its rival, thought fit to take a part in its affairs, and dispatch a fleet in support of the exiles ; this and the Corinthian armaments met, and the latter being worsted, the flame had caught which afterwards burst in conflagration over Greece. Epidamnus was now lost sight of ; Corinth sought to revenge itself on Corcyra, and Corcyra deeming itself alone unequal to the contest, applied to the alliance of Athens. The Corinthian emissaries met them fraught with arguments evincive of the justice of their cause ; but the Corcyreans made a better plea to the ambition of their auditors : they were islanders ; their navy was powerful ; they were situated conveniently for the invasion of the nether coasts of the Peloponnese, or of Italy, or of Sicily, or thence of the whole borders of the mediterranean : such an opportunity might not again occur, and was not now therefore to be passed over ; the Athenians however had some respect for appearances, and not to seem in the eye of Greece the first abettors of fresh hostility, they concluded a merely defensive treaty with the Corcyreans ; but to enter into a defensive treaty with a people already in arms, was surely equivalent to a declaration of war. The Corinthians unable to contend alone with these united powers, addressed the Spartans, and roused them from their lethargy with a tale of this new accession to the force of their rivals, the dangerous avidity of further possession thence discoverable in the Athenian state, and their own loss of that power and estimation in Greece, which had been so gloriously bequeathed them by their forefathers at Platæa.

SPARTA

SPARTA now sent to Athens, and Athens sent back to Sparta, and successive negotiation was agitated, but in such a manner as proved either to be in search only of some colouring for their animosity, and some means of involving others too in the contest, and of making the rupture general.

CHAP.

I.

Ibid.  
§ 84. & seq.

THE requisitions on the part of Sparta were evidently mere pretexts, and had little reference, or to their own concerns and interests, or to the questions in dispute.—First they took the part of religion, and insisted on the expiatory banishment of those families descended from the murderers of Cylon when at sanctuary, with a view to the exile of Pericles who was of such descent: the Athenians bade the Lacedæmonians first expiate at home the breach of sanctuary in the temple of Neptune at Tænæum, where the Helots were slain, and in the fane of Pallas where Pausanias was murdered:—then the Spartans required that Ægina should be enfranchised; then, that the Athenians should open their ports and harbours at that time shut against the vessels of the people of Megara, who had lately shaken off the Athenian yoke, and to whom the Athenians further objected the admitting and concealing their run-away slaves; other demands followed on these:—Pericles at length plainly told his countrymen,

Ibid.  
§ 126. & seq.

“ that to cede the minutest point in debate, was to give up national honour without providing for national security; that  
“ their pusillanimity apparent on a trivial concession would  
“ merely draw on further and more important requisitions; and  
“ that, as well as more becoming, it was more advantageous to  
“ reject in the first instance, and shew a spirit, that at least would  
“ ensure the confidence of their allies, and submission of their tributaries:”—He displayed to them their wealth; above six thousand talents [116] were then in the treasury; six hundred they received annually in tribute; the temples were rich in ornaments of gold; and the massive spoils of the Persian camp were ready in exigency

Ibid.

Thucyd. L. 2.



## C H A P.

I.

Plut. Vit. Ci-  
mon & Peri-  
clis.  
Diod. Sic.  
L. 11. & 12.  
Pausan. Spar-  
sim.  
Strabo. L. 8.9.  
Thucyd. L. 1.

exigency to be melted down. He made known to them their force; their army was numerous and well appointed; they had thirteen thousand heavy armed troops for the field, sixteen thousand more in garrisons, two thousand light armed archers, and twelve hundred horse: and their navy amounting to three hundred sail was all equipped and ready for embarkation, whilst their great arsenal, the work of Philon, was crowded with stores. He showed them the extent and advantages of their dominion [117]; from Corcyra and Zacynthus on one side, and from Ægina and Eubæa on the other, they seemed to embrace the whole Grecian seas; they possessed the great cluster of the Cyclades, and to these and other islands of the Ægean, had lately added the capital acquisition of Samos: many of the insular and maritime states which were not actually subordinate to the government of Athens, could not but side with that naval power, or from commercial habits or from fears; thus Chios and Lesbos and various others were ready to send their fleets to the rendezvous of the great republic. On the continent their possessions were so happily scattered, that well might they be imagined chosen garrisons of Greece: they had Platæa on the borders of the Bœotian, and Naupactos [118] and parts of Acarnania on the confines of the Ætolian territory; Northward, Eion, Amphipolis and many cities of Thessaly and Thrace belonged to them; thence eastward, the entire Chersonese and Byzantium and Sestos, and other towns on the Hellespont submitted to their jurisdiction; many likewise of Ionia, Caria, Lycia, and Pamphylia were subordinate to their sovereignty; their influence too was in many quarters extended or strengthened by colonies;—the lands confiscated from the common enemy, and from the allies too when refractory towards the close of the Persian war, had latterly been distributed, and chiefly by Pericles, among the poorer Athenians:—a thousand Athenians carried the interests and feelings of their country to a settlement in the Chersonese, a thousand more to the district of the Bisaltæ

in Thrace, a thousand to that of the Histiaei in Eubæa, five hundred, to Naxos, as many to the isles of Andros and Scyros, a thousand to Samos, an equal number to Amphipolis, and others to the countries of the Haliartii, of the Chalcidenses, and even to parts more distant. Looking round to this wide extended sovereignty, and to the stations of the enemy, Athens seemed to be situated in the very center of the field of war, ready to dispatch succour and annoyance to each point of the circle:—with these resources and with this empire Athens could not brook concession; a defiance ensued, and war was prepared for on all sides.

HOSTILITIES commenced with an attempt to surprize Plataea; the town was taken, and was recovered; many of the aggressors were slain, and many remained captive within the walls. The Theban army then desolating the fields around, approached the city to support the enterprize of their countrymen; whose failure and captivity being made acquainted with, they entered into treaty for their lives, and engaged to desist from further devastation, on condition that their citizens were sent back in safety, on the army's retreat from the country. These terms were agreed to, and the Thebans withdrew; but no sooner were they withdrawn, but the Plataeans [119] put to death their prisoners; and this atrocious act of wanton perfidy, portentive of all its horrors and cruelty, opened the Peloponnesian war.

Thucyd. L. 2.

THE subordinate states of Athens were strictly under its command; they paid their tribute and service; they had no dissentient voice, and their fleets and armies were headed by Athenians; thus they were submissive, but they were faithless.

Xen. Pol. Ath.

THE Spartans were at the head of a confederacy embarked in one common cause, but with various and independent interests; thus

Thucyd. L. 1.

CHAP. I. thus though steady to the general purpose, often on particulars they were divided.

Arist. Pol.  
L. 5. C. 7.

THE Spartans in the several cities under their sovereignty constituted an oligarchy, and the form of government seemed to secure a quiet and easy administration; but the people were not in their interests, and in a crisis of danger co-operated not with ardour and spirit.

Ibid. &  
Isocrat. paneg.

THE Athenians fostered their own system of democracy in each little district of their dominion, but with so many restrictions and reservations in favour of their own supremacy, that whilst the aristocrats were disgusted at the licentiousness, the popular advocates were equally irritated by the controul of government, and merely the ubiquity of the fleet, and often not even that could ensure the faithful adherence of their tributaries. The distinctions of opulence and family, and the strength of numbers had at various times occasioned the most bloody commotions in every town of Greece: Such contention was now renewed, and with greater animosity from a sense of respective patronage and support, held out to them by the two great rival states; and as the demagogues or patrician influence got the better, the parties severally opened their gates to the Athenian, or to the confederate forces.

Thucyd.  
sparsum.

L. 2.

THE Peloponnesians were numerous and warlike, but not wealthy, and thus were bold and powerful in sudden invasion; but not being provided for a long campaign, their force quickly wasted, and the excursion though impetuous, not being sustained, was indecisive.

Ibid.

PERICLES was aware of the force and of the weakness of the enemy, and not attempting to oppose the frequent inroads into Attica, left the country open to devastation, and sought to repair the  
loss

loss through reprisals made by his fleets. The peninsula could double the muster of Athens, but Athens had resources which equalled the lesser to the greater number; she excelled in arts offensive and defensive; her great wealth supplied necessaries, and her expeditions were marked by vigour and perseverance; her shipping wasted her troops where they were not expected, and of course were not to be resisted: nor prowess, nor thousands could balance these advantages. It was not till after receiving subsidies from the Persian treasury, and a lesson of naval affairs dearly purchased by repeated and bloody defeat, that Sparta gained the final superiority in this long contention. Indeed the enmity of these rival republics had so far gotten the better of any sense of the glory of Greece, or even of general good policy,—if not tending to the immediate views and interests of this fatal war, that Athens as well as Sparta applied early and successively to the Persian king for assistance, who for awhile listened warily to their several proffers and pretensions: it was his interest (and he pursued that interest) to leave the contending states to waste the very marrow of their strength ere he granted any succour; and then, by supporting the one or the other, as their weakness required his aid to raise them again for the fight, he might finally oppress together both the combatants.

Thucyd. L. 8.  
Pausan. Eliac.  
1.  
Justin. L. 5.  
C. 1. & 3.  
Xenoph.  
Hist. 1.

THE confederate army each year of the war invaded Attica: on the first incursion the farmer lost much of his harvest and his stock, and the people of course murmured,—but it was the demolition of the fine villas and the losses of the rich that excited the strength of faction. With whatever arts, with whatever abilities, or with whatever integrity, the administration of public affairs may be conducted in a corrupt and licentious state, and amidst the burthens and vicissitudes of war, individual grievances are ever pleaded as public grievances, and the intrigues of

Thucyd. L. 23  
§ 63.  
Plat. Vit. Peg  
riclis.

Y

party

CHAP. party adopt and give a colouring of language to every reproach  
 I. and complaint: hence its measures however just must be often  
 checked, and even its permanency be at the hazard from popular  
 dissatisfactions worked upon by the tools of envy or competition. — Pericles had invidious *rumours* and *constructions* and *assertions*, taken up, emended, and brought forward by factious opponents, to combat with from day to day in these times of calamity, which soured the minds of men, and directed each floating accusation towards him and his friends, as the most obvious scope: successively his old preceptor Anaxagoras, and his *friend* Aspasia had been arraigned for impiety, or rather heresy; his superintendant Phidias had been accused of embezzlement, and finally himself of peculation; and Anaxagoras was banished, and himself deposed and fined: but he had too long habituated the people to his government, had shewn himself too able, and had made himself too necessary from the exigency of affairs, to be permitted to remain in a private situation; the bungling of others made way for his return to office, and the voice of the people called upon him to resume his ministry. Notwithstanding the late lesson of odium resulting from such measure, he still adhered to the policy of depending solely on the navy of the republic, and on the walls of Athens, as the arsenal of its stores, and refuge of its people; and again left the country around open to the ravages of the Spartan army.

Diodor. Sic.  
 L. 12.  
 Thucyd. L. 2.  
 § 65.  
 Plut. Vit. Periclis.

THE herdsmen flying their defenceless villages, thronged to the fortified towns, and there served to mingle in the tumult and feed the appetite of carnage:—to be idle is to be vicious, and habits of vice and idleness are not readily foregone, and thus was honest industry in a great measure lost, and Greece no longer to be the rich and laboured country, which of yore nurtured so many beauteous commonwealths!—these multitudes of men crouding all together within walls,—their tempera-

ment

ment of body as well as of mind was vitiated, and desperation found new subject for its horrors and extravagance, in pestilence and famine.—Who hath not read of the memorable plague [120] at Athens? then Pericles too died: perhaps it had been well for the republic, had he never been born! but his death was equally fatal to it, as his life: none other knew how to redress the evils he had occasioned: he had used the people to the voice of a demagogue; his indeed, as it ever espoused some beneficial plan, so was it a charm, that like Aaron's rod swallowed up all others, and with a superiour magic, kept the assemblies consistent to his purpose! On his death a thousand pretenders arose, and with rival arts and equal weakness perplexed the public councils, disunited the people, and led them to ruin and destruction.

CHAP.

I.

Isocra. orat.  
de pace.

DURING these disputes at home for the ministry, the war continued to rage with various fortunes, but with uniform desperation and violence. Animosity was in these times carried to the most horrid excess; party in each little state abetted the carnage of the great civil broil; when any town capitulated, private enmity and political dissension demanded the murder of those whom national hostility had spared; well were it if only some of the more zealous republicans, or most esteemed and distinguished nobles were the victims; often a whole people were massacred; the Platæans, the Melians, and many others were after conquest deliberately put to the sword: nay! a *long and much debated* edict passed at Athens, “to extirpate without regard to sex or age, every citizen of the noble and populous Mitylene!”—“Mens minds (says Thucydides) at length became totally depraved, and habituated, or to fraud from the necessities or cruelty from the examples of the times; treachery was fought, temerity was valour, massacre retaliation, and retaliation justice; every vice took the name of some virtue, and every

Thucyd. L. 3.

Diod. Sic.  
L. 12.  
Ælian. Hist.  
var. L. 2. C. 9.  
Thucyd. L. 3.  
§ 82.

CHAP.

I.

party adopt and give a colouring of language to every reproach and complaint: hence its measures however just must be often checked, and even its permanency be at the hazard from popular dissatisfactions worked upon by the tools of envy or competition. — Pericles had invidious *rumours* and *constructions* and *assertions*, taken up, emended, and brought forward by factious opponents, to combat with from day to day in these times of calamity, which soured the minds of men, and directed each floating accusation towards him and his friends, as the most obvious scope: successively his old preceptor Anaxagoras, and his *friend* Aspasia had been arraigned for impiety, or rather heresy; his superintendant Phidias had been accused of embezzlement, and finally himself of peculation; and Anaxagoras was banished, and himself deposed and fined: but he had too long habituated the people to his government, had shewn himself too able, and had made himself too necessary from the exigency of affairs, to be permitted to remain in a private situation; the bungling of others made way for his return to office, and the voice of the people called upon him to resume his ministry. Notwithstanding the late lesson of odium resulting from such measure, he still adhered to the policy of depending solely on the navy of the republic, and on the walls of Athens, as the arsenal of its stores, and refuge of its people; and again left the country around open to the ravages of the Spartan army.

Diodor. Sic.

L. 12.

Thucyd. L. 2.

§ 65.

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ment

mand of one Cleon, a braggart, who had talked himself into office by depreciating real merit, and by lauding his own, and that of the people: the cowardice and ignorance of this Cleon brought destruction on the army committed to his care, though superior in appointment and numbers to the enemy: the Athenian forces were cut to pieces, but on the other side, the death of Brasidas seemed almost a balance to the victory; for though others might be found to lead the Spartan army, not one could pretend to that personal interest he had acquired throughout the country, by a perseverance in the virtues (so uncommon to those times) of candour, strict faith, mercy, and beneficence.

BOTH parties now again recurred to negotiation, and in the eleventh year of the war, a peace was finally concluded between Athens and Sparta: these sovereign states too hastily put their signatures to a treaty [121] sufficiently explicit indeed with respect to themselves, but too little provident of their accessaries in the war, whose welfare and even safety were no part of the conditions.

Ibid. § 23.

Justin. L. 3.  
C. 13.

Diod. Sic.  
L. 12.

MOST of the subordinate cities during the course of hostilities, had at some time wavered in their faith; some had been marked by the most bloody perfidy, sedition had raged in all, and the rancour of party suppressed, but not subdued, was ready to take the lead anew, as invited by opportunities of power: how should the confederate cities thus stained with the crimes of treachery and cruelty, return without stipulated terms of oblivion and forgiveness to their former, and now offended, masters? Democracies had become oligarchies, and aristocratic governments popular: were these states to be lightly bartered, for the Athenian to depress the nobles of the one, and the Spartans to raise those of the other, whilst private revenge of the aggrieved but now powerful party on either side, finished the work of depopulation,



## CHAP.

## I.

Thucyd. L. 5.  
§ 23.

population, which war had so successfully began? the dissident cities implored, and met with disregard; they remonstrated, and met with evasions; they threatened,—and Athens and Sparta determined to obviate any dispute on these points between themselves, entered into an offensive and defensive alliance, the very name of which they deemed sufficient to silence every murmur of the malecontents, and necessitate an implicit acquiescence in their supreme will.

Ibid. § 31.  
& seq.

ARGOS and Corinth however taking the lead, formed a confederacy wherewith to oppose the united powers, and enforce some concession in their own favour. A second war was now likely to break out more bloody than the first: Athens was become Spartan, and Sparta, Athenian; the subordinates of either had broken their engagements, and embarked in a new cause; all had changed sides; hostilities now leaned still nearer to civil discord; the deluge again threatened the fields, but from a yet more envenomed source; well doth the poet say, “*Alta sedent*

Lucan. Pharsal. 1.

*civilis vulnera dextra!*

Thucyd. L. 5.  
§ 41. & seq.  
Plut. Vit. Alcibiad.

PERHAPS happily for the generality of Greece, though fatally for our republic, the ambition of an individual broke in upon these new compacts, and quickly roused again the old hereditary flame between Lacedæmon and Athens: some trivial difficulties had occurred on the exchange of places and prisoners, and some dissatisfaction on dismantling the fortrefs of Panactum by the Spartans, ere they surrendered it; and their ambassadors were now at Athens, with the view of accommodating these differences: “They are not to be trusted (exclaimed Alcibiades) [122] “listen not to them, they have broken through the peace, this, “this is the time to humble your old, your haughty rivals; go “head the Argive league, and soon you will be at the head of “Greece:” his eloquence abetted by *falsehoods*, and every art and

and intrigue the orator's policy could suggest, at length prevailed with the assembly; the ministers of Sparta were dismissed; and the alliance with Argos was concluded: not long afterwards Argos was entered sword in hand by the Spartans; but on their retreat, the oligarchy they had placed there was deposed by popular insurrection, and the establishment of a democratic government cemented its union with Athens, who to other advantages accruing from this mighty accession of strength, might at length be said to have a footing in the Peloponnese.

C H A P.

I.

C H A P.

## CHAP.

## II.

## CHAP. II.

OF NAVIGATION AND COMMERCE—OF THE SICILIAN  
EXPEDITION.Herodot. Clio.  
Strabo. L. 9.

OF the various adventurers who originally settled in Attica, many (as was observed) had sailed from distant coasts; and the secession from their native clime, originating from a spirit of enterprize, and not being enforced by hostility, a return was by no means precluded; and the various motives of domestic attachment, and of love for the natal spot, and of wants and of necessities incident to a colony newly fixed in an uncultivated domain, conduced to render the commerce between the new and mother countries frequent and continued: a knowledge of navigation was thus early introduced into Attica, and the influence it had through every channel, every vein, every the minutest duct of the political body was powerful and big with consequence.

THE practice of navigation so much facilitated the intercourse of distant people, so much therein seemed a public benefit, whilst it conduced to private interest, so much served the enjoyments of the wealthy and the hopes of all; that in quick process it was improved, extended, and became a general concern.

Thucyd. L. 1.

THE pirate and merchant were long synonymous characters, but good fortune or ability having elevated some traders to a superior eminence in the profession, they joined their example to discountenance, and power to quell the violences and depredations of their fellows: it was then, that on the basis of more general intelligence, of growing wealth, and of concomitant authority,

## BOOK THE SECOND.

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thority, the merchant's occupation became respected, and the object of political institution ; the state reaping subsidy and population from its practices, modelled itself into a system of patronage to its pursuits, and gradually the whole commonwealth became dependant on the success of its trade, and the prowess of its navy.

CHAP.  
II.

THE minds of the Athenians opened by commercial intercourse, re-operated on that commerce, and aided it with such regulation as experience might authorize, or foresight suggest ; negotiation was to be fostered but by equality, the influence of the citizen over his neighbour, might extend to the transactions of the merchant, and diffidence corrode the very root of credit and fair dealing ;—thus seemed it necessary that the state should lean to the democratic [123] side, in subserviency to the interests of those who gave it grandeur and opulence.

Xen. Pol. Ath.

THAT a state should by degrees mould to the spirit of its constituents ; that an humane and impartial legislation, tending to favour the occupation of the citizen, should attract the foreigner ; that the public polity should profit of the concurrence, and increase in funds and population ; that industry should lead to riches, and riches to authority ; that each citizen should seek that channel through which his pride, his pleasures, his ambition, his every passion was to be gratified ; that, in a word, from the advantages of trade and navigation, a commonwealth should become powerful, and its constituents polished and opulent,—are subjects too well understood to need further detail ! but this over-nutritious stimulative to greatness, bears it not somewhat poisonous and destructive in its consequences ?—runs not such a state the career of a midnight revel, progressive through the various steps of civility, wit, and spirit, to the conjoined weakness and hot passion of ebriety ; till grown drivelling and

Plut. Vit. The-  
mist.  
Isocrat. Pa-  
neg.  
Xen. Pol. Ath.  
§ 3.  
Id. de Vestigat.

Z

torpid,

## CHAP.

## II.

Xen. Pol. Ath.  
C. 1. 2.  
Platon. Pol.  
L. 8.

torpid, it is oppressed without resistance and removed at pleasure? In the moral [124], as in the physical world, the point of maturity is but that of a moment, whilst encrease and decrease have their periods, and in general of reciprocal duration; with the same haste a commercial nation accedes to empire, it speeds to dissolution, and the very circumstances which first opened the prospect of success, prove the cause of its downfall.

APPLICATION and frugality, the first promoters of trade, finally become victims to the very success of the enterprise; the importation of luxuries gradually enervates the industry that is in pursuit of them; the influx of money at once enhances the value of the manufacture, and renders the artificer indolent; other nations not yet emerged from competency, undersell the articles of life; some subterfuge, or resource must be found to evade the rivalry,—the liberal arts have perhaps followed commerce to her elevation; their assistance is now required, invention is racked, and workmanship studied of the most exquisite kind, to allure the sense, and put the comparison of price at a distance; then too the mere underling artificer grows idle and monied, and puts in his claim with the rest to be dissolute and luxurious:—thus the whole community becomes corrupt [125], and begins to weigh light in the scale of nations. The last resource from immediate ruin is the restriction of what it actually possesses to domestic circulation, nor can this preserve it long; a marine armament is its only defence, and such navy is not to be supported but on the basis of a commercial one.

WEALTH, though the least certain mark of happiness, is the surest object of envy; avarice and impatience of inferiority beget envy and discontent in the neighbouring states; the pride of riches knows not how to concede; a private argument becomes a public quarrel; war is declared; the fleets are found on the decline,

decline, the number of artificers is multiplied tenfold, of sailors decreased; no longer invincible at sea, the commonwealth must have forces too by land; but whence are they to be drafted? the selfish citizen pleads occupation, the countrymen are but few; mercenaries must of force be collected; still the republic is wealthy, and under hireling banners, it opens a campaign at least with splendor; but these troops fight not their own cause, they are quickly dispirited by loss, they are mutinous in success, they are unsupportable to the country, they are exhausting to the state, and whether victorious or not, the war concludes in ruinous debt and impoverished resources.

SUCH is the obvious career of every state subsisting on its commerce and depending on its navy, without enumerating the intermediate casualties to which it is more especially and in its very nature exposed; of these some, and the most fatal too, may originate in its very force and opulence;—such is the facility its navy affords of great and distant enterprise, too often suggested by a vain people, and adopted by a corrupt administration; little considerate that the wealth and power of the nation are then on a single venture, and as what is idly undertaken, is seldom wisely pursued, are generally on the worst of ventures. To the general tendency towards decline, and to the phrenzy of expedition, let us add fortuitous losses and a defective government, and we then have in view the evils which co-operated to hasten on the republic of Athens in its ruinous course, and which accelerated the hour of dissolution. The town thronged with slaves, merchants, allies, and foreigners, of all sorts, exposed not to immediate view the ravages which pestilence and war had made in the numbers of the citizens; fourteen thousand and forty were numbered in the census of Pericles at the commencement of hostilities, but five thousand were the most that ever from this time assembled on the most

Thucyd. L. 5.  
& 6.

CHAP. general and important concern; yet the streets wore the appearance of plenty and population, the commonalty were delighted with the view, and maddened with that elation which each demagogue for private purposes had artfully wrought up, and now coloured afresh with the Argive treaty, they gave ear to every flattery, and filled with the admiration of the speaker, and of themselves, harmonized their vanity with his ambition, and accorded to the most extravagant projects of new and extensive conquest.

Thucyd. L. 2.  
Diod. Sic.  
L. 13. DURING the previous contest with the Peloponnese, the Athenians had from time to time meddled in the disputes of Sicily, and relishing the sweets of pillage, which that opulent country afforded, they had become so enamoured with this little secondary war, in which, without hazard, they had acted the profitable part of pirates, rather than the dangerous one of fair combatants; that on conclusion of the peace at Camarina they testified their disapprobation of the treaty, by banishing or fining every officer of theirs who had acceded to it: another opportunity now offered for recommencing hostilities there; when disregarding even appearances, to interpose between the petty states of Selinunté and Egesté, they voted an armament of such mighty force, as could be destined for no other than the reduction of the whole island; and they made their purpose the more evident by commissioning their leaders at any rate to pursue the war, and on failure of other pretext, to rip up the old quarrel of Lentini and Syracuse, and make that a pretence for forthwith attacking the capitol of Sicily.

Justin. L. 4.  
C. 4.  
Diod. Sic.  
L. 13.  
Thucyd. L. 6.  
Plut. Vit.  
Niciz. ejusd.  
Vit. Alcibid. WEAKLY as this expedition was determined on, yet more weak was the appointment of the three leaders of the armament [126]: Nicias, a very dilatory, and very old man, Lamachus, the Lepidus of the triumvirate, and Alcibiades the Antony, — equally voluptuous, equally brave, artful, and unprincipled: this  
last

last man was yet a more improper object of choice on other accounts ; previous to the embarkment he was charged with a crime [127] that was even capital ;—without pardon, without trial, or even a determined period of trial, the cause on which his life was to depend was left undecided, and he was permitted to depart, distrusted by, and distrusting the citizens ; and at the head of a soldiery that to a man adored him.

SCARCELY landed on the Sicilian shore, Alcibiades was summoned to return and appear before the assembly, when all who might abet or support him were absent from the judicature ; but he was aware of the policy of his adversaries, escaped his conductors, and fled to Sparta : thus did the Athenians trust this man with power, enter into all his views, and with a vast and expensive force give action to his designs, and then ill-used and turned him loose in the bitterness of disgust and disappointment to betray their policy, to counteract their schemes, and instruct the enemy of what was meant, and what meant to accomplish it ; what was strong, what weak, and where and how his country might be annoyed, and all its projects opposed and baffled. He shewed the Spartans, that the Sicilians, if conquered, must be conquered from want of experience and unanimity ; that they had men sufficient, but that to make these men soldiers and bring them properly to the field, they wanted some trusty veteran officer to instruct and lead them on :—He told the Spartans that their own troops might be more profitably employed in Greece ; that their frequent invasions of Attica had not hitherto been so effective as they could wish, but that the reason was obviously their omitting, their strangely omitting to fortify and secure some strong hold in a province, when they were masters of it, and whence they might at leisure harass the country, intercept parties, and keep the capitol itself in constant alarm.



## CHAP.

## II.

Frontin. Strateg. L. 1. C. 3.  
Diod. Sic. L. 13.

THE Spartans on their next excursion, stopped to strengthen and garrison the fortrefs of Decelea, only twelve miles distant from Athens ; and immediately they dispatched Gylippus with a small force to inspirit and discipline the Syracusan armies.

Plut. Vit. Nicæ.  
Justin. L. 4. C. 4.  
Thucyd. L. 6.

THE Athenian armament, of which Nicias now was the sole General (for Lamachus on the first onset was killed) was completely, and even richly fitted out ; its equipment of arms and stores, and its complement of troops seemed adequate to the great business it was sent on ; but at such distance from home, nothing but constant success could find this army support ; and even victory, if sharply contested, was fatal, whilst each death was irreparable from the difficulties of recruiting, and the army was subject to gradually diminish and waste away : Nicias indeed sent for succour to Hetruria, and even Carthage, but little had his emissaries to plead in favour of their requisition, and they met every where with slight or with reproof.

Plut. Vit. Periclis.

PLUTARCH tells us, that in the arrogance of successive triumphs during the administration of Pericles, the Athenian orators had in the assemblies, mentioned Hetruria, Carthage, and Sicily, as subjects of future conquest.—When Lamachus, Alcibiades, and Nicias, were chosen to command, ere a ship was under sail, or a soldier on board, they convened the senate, in order to arrange the future government of Sicily ; and to those little conversant in political absurdities, I should hardly venture to state on less authority than that of Diodorus, the wise result of their debates ; namely, a decree, that the Selinuntians and Syracusans should be sold to captivity, and the other republics of that island be permitted to enjoy their present state, paying tribute and acknowledging their due allegiance to Athens. Such arrogance of conduct and language is ever felt, and at due time repented ; Carthage too was a naval power, and every example of

Diod. Sic. L. 13. § 3.

of history teaches us, that the spirit of such force and views is ever intolerant of a similitude of pretensions; in its course ever leads to competition, and from its very nature, is pregnant with seeds of dissention, tending to embitter the emulation it excites. There is ever a jealousy in the friendships, and a phrenzy in the hostilities of nations severally dependant on their commerce and marine: the contest for riches is complicated with the contest for power, and the individual passions join issue with national resentments on each point of litigation; the private ardour of gain is ever finding subjects for ambition to work upon; the field of acquisition is ever sought by the most enterprising spirits; the accumulation and the loss of fortunes thereon, whether of the merchant, or of the commonwealth, are more extensive and more sudden; thus desperation on the one side, and exultation on the other, are ever at variance; and lastly, the sources of discontent and of hostility ebb from every haven to which a common commerce is directed. Hence, and from the vicinity too of Sicily, it might be supposed that Carthage would rather counteract than assist the invasion of the Athenians:—yet in their first onset they were irresistible; they speedily over-ran a large tract of country, seized on Catana, and invested Syracuse: the citizens often sallied forth, and were as often beaten; the enemies fleet rode triumphantly in the very harbour, and a circumvallation nearly surrounded that vast city. At this moment of distress Gylippus arrived, but with so small a force, that even the wary superstitious old Nicias treated the reinforcement with derision, and no ways laboured to prevent the disembarkment: soon however its importance appeared; Gylippus took the lead of the Syracusans, animated them with speeches; recovered some small forts, elated them with their prowess; disciplined, formed, and directed them; and finally showed that art and experience could finish the work nature had begun, and that not she,

Plut. Vit. Nie:  
Thucyd. L. 6.

CHAP. but the military tutor is in fault, if every man is not to be made  
 II. a soldier.

Diod. Sic.  
 L. 13.  
 Thucyd. L. 7.

THE Syracusans now often beat the Athenians on equal terms, and the force of the invaders, from the successive skirmishes was so wasted, that not even a strong reinforcement sent from Athens under Demosthenes, could enable it long to make head against the more numerous, and now as warlike Sicilians. Demosthenes and Nicias were soon obliged to act on the defensive; at length even a retreat was cut off by the blockade of their fleet within the harbour; they attempted to force a passage, they were repulsed, the shipping destroyed, and their condition almost hopeless. The forlorn alternative was then in agitation, of attempting a retreat by land, and seeking some city, which the Athenian name might yet induce to relieve, and supply them with the means of returning home: the Syracusans apprized of their design, awaited to attack them on their march; they harrassed, they surrounded them, and at length forced them to a discretionary surrender: Nicias and Demosthenes were put to death, some were thrown into dungeons, some made slaves of, and some few dismissed [128].

Diod. Sic.  
 L. 13.  
 Ælian. L. 5.  
 Cap. 10.  
 Isocrat. Orat.  
*ωπὸν ἡγεμονίαν.*

THUS ended this fatal expedition, on which ten thousand talents had been expended, and in which Ælian says, the Athenians lost forty thousand of their best troops, and a fleet of two hundred and forty sail, ships of war, transports and others.

IN the course of this important war, no subject suggests greater matter of political speculation than the expedition to Sicily; probably it had long been in agitation, and when Pericles so earnestly pressed the alliance with Coreyra, his views might have been directed to this object, as the result of the footing he thereby

thereby gained in the Italian seas : Alcibiades was his favourite scholar in the ministerial cabinet, and might be presumed to have been well acquainted with his state principles and designs ; and perhaps in this undertaking did but adopt and pursue the schemes [129] of Pericles : but this he did too hastily and inconsiderately, ere the plan was ripe ; ere the occasion was specious and means suitable, or the season of the times was sufficiently temperate to warrant the attempt to graft so large a branch of power on the old stock : he hurried into the Sicilian war all at once, and precipitated the Athenian state into a measure which required all its strength, at a time when that strength was somewhat exhausted, and what remained was weakened by a division of posts and armament necessary from the variety of its enemies ;—and weakened too by domestic dissensions, by the intrigues and by the treasons of leading men, and by the fluctuation of popular assemblies. Even had the superiority of Athens been abroad decisive, and its interior administration able and firm, great were the dangers and difficulties to be obviated in such distant enterprize ; the invidious appearance of aggressorship, the alienation of general good-will ever attending it, the desperate resistance of those who fight for property and liberty, the languor of troops so far removed from their own country, the difficulties of recruiting, the casualty of stores, the hazard of shipping, and lastly, the advantages which may be taken by rival states of each disaster, or even of the occasions, which so great expenditure, and the absence of so much national force may too frequently afford : in the course of this war each of these had its influence, and they combined together to crush the power of Athens, and to leave an awful lesson to future statesmen, and to maritime powers !

CHAP.

II.

Plut. Vit. Alcib. and Per.

Thucyd. L. 2. § 68.

CHAP.  
III.

## C H A P. III.

OF THE CHARACTER OF ALCIBIADES—CONTINUATION OF  
THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR—REVOLUTIONS AT ATHENS—  
CONCLUSION OF THE WAR—SUBVERSION OF THE COMMON-  
WEALTH, AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE OLIGARCHY.

CHARITY covers not more sins in religion, than affability in worldly intercourse; an attentive complacency is a refined sort of flattery that none can resist; nor is it wonderful that every man should be in good humour with a talent, which puts every man in good humour with himself. There is no one who practises assiduously the art of raising the self-importance of those he may accost, but reaps a good profit in proportion to the dexterity of his address; but extra-advantages have belonged to many, both ancient and modern professors of this diffusive and delicate species of practical adulation, advantages for which they were indebted to the bounties of nature or of fortune, and which mere address can never hope to emulate: the man of learning, who listens respectfully to a quotation; the man of science, to a system; the man of wit, to an opinion; and the man of wealth and power who listens respectfully to any thing, will thereby give a self-consequence to the speaker, who will heartily repay the donor with a degree of gratitude proportionate to his own unworthiness; which unworthiness, as few have in any extensive sense, learning, science, wit, wealth, or power, must be the lot of the multitude, and of course the favour attending the complaisance of the wise, and particularly of the great, be much, and almost universal.

FROM

FROM these reflections I have often been induced to take much from the stock of virtues, allowed in great *conciliatory* characters, and to return them whence they originated,—on the bounty of mankind; which, for every point of lordly dignity given up, is ready to lavish all its powers of eulogy, and elevate to the skies every king who condescends to walk the earth, however lamely he may walk it, with his fellow-creatures.

WE hence can easily resolve the wonder of Cornelius Nepos, that Alcibiades exceeded Thraſybulus ſo much in renown, whilſt Thraſybulus was his companion in, and acceſſary to each glorious exploit, and had beſides engaged in ſo noble and excentric a one, in which Alcibiades bore no part: Alcibiades of noble deſcent, of great wealth, a fine perſon, quick parts, ſome learning, and much military ſpirit, was perhaps one of thoſe heroes, who have enjoyed many of their more extraordinary qualities from the generous retribution of their cotemporaries; who ever will admire the man, whoſe admiration is creditable, and ſeems conferred on them.

Corn. Nep.  
Vit. Thraſyb.

Platon. Alcib.  
Dial.  
Corn. Nep.  
Vit. Alcib.  
Plut. Vit.  
Ejuſd.

IMITATION of manners, is perhaps the moſt ſuperiour fort of this ſuperiour flattery; had Alcibiades eat but one meſs of black broath, his aſterity would have been noted and enlarged upon at Sparta; had he uttered only two metaphors, and drank two quarts in Perſia, his abilities therein, from this ſmall ſtock, might have ſwelled to a fame that ſhould rival the hyperboles of the magi, or the ſepulchral inſcription of the ſon Artaxerxes [130]. I think therefore the verſatility [131] of this genius ſo ſtrongly and ſo much inſiſted on, may have been nothing wonderful, but that merely he had the art not ſo common in thoſe days, of polite and aſſiduous inſincerity.

Athenæ. L. 1. 2  
P. 533.

CHAP.

III.

Athenæ. L. 12.

Justin. L. 5.

C. 2.

Thucyd. L. 8.

ALCIBIADES ill repaid the hospitality of Agis, by adultery with his queen Timæa; and this and other circumstances obliged him to quit Sparta: at the conclusion of the Sicilian war, he had taken refuge with Tiffaphernes, and was now ingratiating himself by professing the interests of the Persian, and giving information and advice ruinous to the liberties of his country: his arguments finally influenced the Satrap to take part in the disturbances of Greece, and to make a treaty with the Spartans, by which they gained a considerable accession of what they so much wanted, and what perhaps alone they had hitherto been deficient in, money and shipping: Syracuse too, grateful to her deliverers, listed under their banner, and assisted with her fleets to humble those who had so wantonly been her aggressors.

Ibid. § 2.

Ibid. § 14.

HAD the Athenians proved successful in Sicily, it was generally understood that the result of such conquest, might prove the subversion of the entire liberties of Greece; hence many states which had hitherto remained neuter, now declared against Athens; and Alcibiades busied himself in persuading its old tributaries to quit so desperate, as well as unjust a cause, nor complicate their fate with that of the republic: Chios, Clazomené, and the Erythræi, sat the example of defection.

THE sovereignty of Athens oppressive in peace, and harsh and even cruel in times of war, was ill suited to retain its influence, when its force was gone: moderation, justice, and clemency alone ensure the adherence of subordinate provinces and allies, at times when their service is most wanted; these constitute the true strength of a state;—despotism is but the gigantic phantom of power, good-will and the sense of national welfare, interest, and protection give it genuine substance: when during the calamities of the second Punic war, the Pontiani, the Pæstani, and

many of the southern states of Italy stood firm to Rome ; it was, says Livy, "*Quia justo et moderato regebantur imperio,—quod unum*  
"*vinculum fidei est, melioribus parère.*"

CHAP.  
III.

THE total loss of the army in Sicily, the vast preparations making against them, and the successive falling off of their allies and tributaries, filled the minds of the Athenians with consternation ; every other resource seemed exhausted, and for a last and despondent exertion, they voted the employment of the thousand talents set apart for the immediate defence of Athens, and a fleet equipped with its last sad relics of opulence and authority again took the seas.

Macrob. Sat. L.  
C. 11.  
Thucyd. L. 8.  
§ 15.

THIS republic that so little while ago had menaced the united powers of the Peloponnese and Sicily, was now reduced to economical restriction, and the narrow policy of defence, to the withdrawing its garrisons from distant parts, to the conveying daily subsistence for the city, and to the covering the intercourse with fortifications at Sunium : and in lieu of glorious and extensive enterprize, its final exertion of naval power was necessitated to secondary expeditions, in support of some little town, or in recovery of some small island, during which another, and another went over to the enemy, and in despite of perseverance, its empire was mutilated, and its force diminished.

Ibid. § 4.

Diod. Sic.  
L. 13.  
Xen. Hist. 1.

THE revolt of Rhodes was announced, that of Eubæa hourly expected :—what hopes, what resource in this distress?—"Per-  
haps (it was said) Alcibiades might be persuaded to return ;  
Alcibiades is in habits of amity with Tissaphernes, and his interest might bring over the Persian to our assistance :"—the idea was with eagerness embraced, and the temper and inclinations of his countrymen were immediately hinted to the exiled chief ; but now aware of the fluctuating favour of a corrupted  
populace,

Thucyd. L. 8.  
§ 44.  
Xen. Hist. 1.



**CHAP.** populace, Alcibiades would not trust to this momentary goodwill ; he would return, and boasted he would bring with him all the force of Persia, but it should be on condition that the Democracy was abolished, and the government vested in a few, amongst whom he was to be, and probably to be the chief.

**III.**

Jurîn. L. 5.  
C. 3.

Thucyd. L. 2.  
Isocrat. orat.  
de Bigis.

ON the promulgation of these proposals, the Athenian assembly broke into a variety of factions, each adopting such sentiments, party, or plan, as suited with his temper and circumstances ; each thinking for himself, and none for the commonwealth. In every other state the intestine commotions being sustained by only two parties, by those who favoured the nobles, and by those who supported the pretensions of the people, subsided quickly on the superiority attained by one or the other side, and the bloodshed of a few principals washed away the dregs of sedition : but the anarchy of the Athenian assembly admitted not of so easy a settlement : every citizen almost was a party ; one man preferred one, and another, another form of government ; some set up for themselves, and some abetted the pretensions of any one whom they had a little known, or much heard of ; many yet stickled for the commonwealth, and a few remembering the old-fashioned conduct of their ancestors, said, “ that the duty of a freeman was to bequeath the same freedom to his son”, and talked of dying for their liberties and country : but the worst, and not the least numerous set of men, were those who without principle or scheme, merely sought to keep up or encrease commotion, with a view of bettering themselves, as the incendiary who first lights, then to pillage from, the fire.

Diod. Sic.  
L. 13.  
Thucyd. L. 2.

A COALITION of four hundred of the most powerful citizens, at length with the murder of the few virtuous advocates of the old republic bore down the other factions, and by a vote dissolving the  
the

the former compact of government, existed a self-created senate, arbitrary and supreme, over every other department whether civil or military: to silence the clamours of the discontented, they decreed the adjunction of five thousand more to their number; but this conciliatory decree was never carried into execution, and the powers of the state were solely and actually vested in the four hundred who had at first arrogated authority.

AT least a moiety of the Athenian denizens were during these domestic troubles aboard the fleet at Samos; those who in the extreme exigency of the republic, had enlisted in its armies and navy, the service of which from the distresses and diminution of the state, was become daily more frequent and more dangerous, could not be deemed the worst of its citizens; at any rate military discipline must have given them habits far wide of that licentiousness, which the turbulency of the assemblies, the arts of a demagogue and examples of vice, and instances of impunity produced at home;—their dissent from the innovations at Athens was thus to be expected; and indeed, without recurring to more extraordinary reasons than the one so common, and so well known,—that they had no part in the transaction, and that men are not generally apt to acquiesce in the work of others, and implicitly approve, what they think themselves much concerned, and little consulted in.

THE fleets and army stationed at Samos dispatched a messenger to Alcibiades, and putting him at their head set up for reformers of the commonwealth, in opposition to the faction at home who had dissolved it: this altercation of army and senate ended in the submission of the latter; their decrees were annulled, and the prior constitution in some measure restored: Alcibiades, recalled and supported by the republican party, could not at this time openly propose his favourite oligarchy, but yet apprehensive of

Thucyd. L. 2.  
§ 53. & seq.  
Plut. Vit. Alcibiad.

CHAP.

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that fickleness of disposition in the people, he had so often experienced, and once had so nearly fallen a victim to,—he was determined to effect such alteration [132], at least in the government, as should ensure it to the hands of those, who, from wealth, good sense, or other foundation of self-consequence, might not be exposed to waver to the breath of every noisy declaimer, and compliment his oratory with a sacrifice of whomsoever he should demand from private envy, dislike, or rivalry: Alcibiades had the address to gain his point, by still preserving the forms of the ancient constitution, but confining the number of legal citizens to five thousand, which, from his interest in the choice of the majority of, he thought to make a party of rather than a state; and to mould and direct at pleasure.

COURAGE is generally supposed to be constitutional, or a quality primarily inherent in the connected soul and body: but like all other faculties or virtues bestowed upon us, it is not so remarkable in the first instance, as in the powers we have of increasing or adding to it: as the strongest natural understanding will yield to one of less acuteness well taught and well methodized; or as the best natural memory will not retain so well as that of the practised actor; so the fiercest spirit from birth, will not act with the intrepidity of a veteran, whom discipline, or habit, or a particular cause, or a particular General, or other casualties, will at times induce to face the most imminent peril with more than natural courage. Valour is founded in self-confidence;—that confidence as it flies from instinct to opinion, not only more easily finds support, but from the conflux of passions flowing into its aid, that support too is stronger; again it is more uncertain, whilst the cement of these ascititious emotions is extra-dependant on season and circumstance; and it readily vanishes or returns, as it is urged or repressed by the  
mind

mind in fluctuation from suggestions of hope, to suggestions of fear.

CHAP.

III.

NOTHING instills a more undaunted spirit into the breast of soldiers, than, an often most capricious notion of, and favour for, some particular leader :—With what courage did the name of Charles inspire the Swedes ? what soldier could shrink, when backed with the clamour of “ Cæsar and his fortune ? ”—As strong an instance now occurs of military spirit towering to the very heavens from a familiar basis, and so idly built, that the fabric was fitted to no other foundation : the name of Alcibiades had caught with the soldiery, and the ardour awakened by the magic of this mere name, inspired the whole army to that degree, that from their state of abasement and humiliation, the Athenians once again assumed the airs of victory ; they won the day at Cynoceme, at Byzantium, at Cyzicum ; they talked of nought but conquest ;—and providing for the next defeat of the Spartans, they arrogantly passed a previous vote to cut off the right-hand of every prisoner they should take.

Plut. Vit. Alcibiad.

Diod. Sic. L. 13.  
Thucyd. L. 8.  
Xen. Hist. 1.

AT the battle of Cyzicum, the Spartan admiral was killed, and his fleet so completely destroyed, that his lieutenant Harpocrates wrote to the Ephori, “ that all was lost.” Justin says, “ that Sparta humbled by these repeated successes of the versatile Athenian, actually sued for peace, and that the overture was rejected through the selfish views of those who had the lead and influence in the assemblies of the people : ” Considering how much Athens had lost, that her venture lay on the last stake of funds and military force, and that the crisis was so peculiarly favourable for negotiation of terms, the hastily rejecting such proffer of peace may seem unaccountable to those whose political experience or speculations do not extend to the knowledge of how much the private views of a few able and ambitious

Ibid.

Justin. L. 5.  
c. 4.

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men

C H A P.

III.

men operate in the concerns of a great and free nation which is become so depraved, as generally to bend to the calls of vanity and avarice. The fair outside of corruption, the ruddy and rich superficialities which ever covers the diseases of a commercial state, was mistaken perhaps by some ignorant and innocent men for the symptom of wholesome vigour; but the majority of the Athenian assembly were influenced (it may be supposed) by the ascendancy of riches and honours, which a continuance of the war promised, to the vain who thought themselves able, to the busy who courted employ, or to the mercenary who looked for emolument from office, contract, or command. This refusal of terms, a refusal absolutely originating in the weakness, and not in the real force of the republic, was the cause of new strength accruing to the enemy; and the confederates gained alliances and succour from the detestation of Athenian pride, which they could have gained by no conciliatory or authoritative means of their own: this occasion once lost, a speedy reverse of fortune showed its importance, and showed too, that the regret of the multitude leads not in the consequence to contrition and amendment, but to private dissention and crimination, and to general tumult and anarchy.

Plut. Vit. Alcibiad.  
Xen. Hist. 1.

ALCIBIADES, after his successive victories, returned in triumph to Athens, where he was received with the most wanton excess of favour and applause; all the decrees that had passed to his prejudice were cancelled, every mark of public confidence was bestowed: yet many in the assemblies could not regard that man without distrust, who had originated, and who had defeated the scheme of conquest in Sicily, who had connected the wealth of Asia with the arms of Sparta, who had quitted the Spartan from personal apprehensions, whose connection with Tissaphernes was unprincipled, and whose regard to his country, to its constitution, and interests, was recently proved to be a mere pretence,

tence, covering his private necessity, if not designs. The hasty and violent attachment of the commonalty however bore down every other consideration: Alcibiades was vested with the supreme command by sea and land, and immediately went to join the fleet near Ephesus: with the intention of concerting measures with Thrasybulus then at Phocæa, he soon after left his command to Antiochus; Antiochus in disobedience of his orders, took occasion during his absence to seek exclusive honours in a battle with Lyfander, in which he was beaten, and many of his ships taken and destroyed: the discontented spirit which lurked in the minds of some penetrating and some envious men, on this occasion began to work openly in Athens to the prejudice of Alcibiades: so many arguments as were to be urged from his past conduct, it was not difficult to even mould the event of his absence during the battle into treachery; extreme popular partialities were succeeded by as extreme dissatisfaction and anger; and this famous leader, whose versatile endowments and various vicissitudes, stamped him at once the favourite, and the sport of nature and of fortune, was superseded in his command, and ten officers sent out to supplace him, invested with equal powers and authority. The Athenians from the above defeat weakened and dispirited fled before Callicratidas to Mitylene; but the exertions of the new commanders quickly reinforced the fleet, and at Arginusæ they again faced and fought the Spartans, and took or destroyed sixty-nine of their ships: a singular fatality however precluded the service or use which might at other periods have resulted from so great a victory. Whilst the last resources of the state, both as to men and funds were thus in action, a general sense of danger, complicated with general depravity, took a hardened and desperate course in the minds of this people, habituated during twenty-eight years to the unremitting horrors of war, and to the sense of so many evils they had caused, and had reciprocally sustained: fears and incertitude of this

CHAP. fort ever characterised by suspicion and cruelty, operated on each  
 III. occasion, and instigated a frequency of wanton accusation and  
 unjust sentence :—*The democracy was thus become tyrant !* Nor  
 was an object at any time wanting whereon to wreak the phrenzy  
 excited by the bitter feelings and fears, which a consciousness of  
 venal, cruel, and impolitic conduct, brought collectively home  
 to the minds of the citizens ; for the long career of vicissitudes  
 had divided the people into dissentious bands of party, severally  
 under a demagogue dissatisfied with one commander, or partial  
 to another ; and each conquest and each loss was the mere food  
 of faction, and every event of war regarded more from the op-  
 portunity of individual elevation or ruin, as favour or enmity  
 might prevail, than from views to national welfare and resource.  
 The consequences of the sea-fight of Arginusæ strongly mark  
 this spirit of the times : whether wrecked in the conflict, or  
 merely by tempestuous weather, twelve of the Athenian vessels  
 had foundered in the course of this battle, and the council of  
 war ordered two captains, Theramenes and Thrasylbulus, with a  
 detachment of forty-seven sail to succour, and take up the crews  
 of the vessels that were lost ; from the swell of the sea, or from  
 other causes, this service was not performed, and Theramenes  
 obnoxious to accusation (as appears from a speech of Critias on  
 another occasion) anticipated the attack and criminated his com-  
 manders, as not having given due and timely assistance to the  
 ships in distress, wresting to his purpose an old law by which  
 those “ who acted to the detriment of the republic ;” and an-  
 other, by which “ those who betrayed the interests of the state,”  
 were to be thrown over the precipice, a tenth of their goods to  
 be consecrated to the gods, and the remainder to be confiscated  
 to public uses : the matter was first agitated in the senate, and  
 their decree referred to a decision of the assembly, both as to  
*fact*, and the *merits* of the case ; Callixenus (a partizan of The-  
 ramenes) recited or expounded the *senatus-consultum*, as adjudg-  
 ing

ing together the eight admirals to death, in case the simple fact was ascertained and declared by the votes of the several tribes ; the senate disavowed the terms, or the interpretation of the edict, and forbade the suffrage on such statement of the question : the party of Theramenes then clamoured for the rights of the people, urged on the dispute between senate and assembly, and complicated their cause with the prejudices and pretensions of the citizens, who were taught to suppose that the alteration of a decree once propounded to them by the Prytanes, was an infringement of the constitution ; and without enquiry into the truth of either, admitting both the fact and the deduction, they entered into the views of the accuser with such heat and violence, that finally they intimidated the senate into a surrender of their dignity and justice : under such circumstances, and in such shape the business was submitted to a decision of the people. Euryp- tolemus was the only one who ventured in the assembly to plead the cause of the admirals ; “ he urged, that the accuser was the “ sole delinquent, if there was any ; he showed the folly too “ of a general and sweeping sentence, when the opinions and “ conduct of those before them might have been so various ; “ that in fact Diomedon had voted in the council of war for the “ whole fleet assisting the crews of the foundered ships, that “ Thrasylus had given his voice for a large detachment being “ sent on that service ; that another of the admirals, now on “ trial, was himself saved from a wreck ;” and he closed his speech with moving, “ that the parties be heard *severally* in “ defence.” This oration, apparently genuine, and cited at length in the histories of Xenophon, had a temporary effect ; the votes of the assembly coincided with the opinion of Euryp- tolemus : one Menecles then rose, and pleaded to an informality in the proceedings, the debate was protracted to-night, and then adjourned. On the morrow Theramenes led to the forum all the friends of those lost at Arginusæ clothed in mourning, and



CHAP. and every other artifice was used to inflame the minds of the  
 III. people ; in the moment of heat and passion the urns were tendered, and a majority dropt their bean into that vase, which bore the sentence of condemnation to death against the eight admirals without reserve or exception.

Plut. Vit. Ly-  
sander.

I HAVE entered more particularly into this detail, not only as it characterises the state of Athens at this period, but as it accelerated the public ruin : what after this could be expected in the city but virulence of reproach and animosity ? what firmness or wisdom could be expected in the administration of affairs ? what spirit in the fleets and armies of the republic, but that of sedition ? what in their leaders but diffidence or treachery, none daring to act in concert, and all in subserviency to, or in apprehension of, those under their command ? Every action subsequent to this preposterous judgment was disastrous, and seemed to refer to its fatality [133]. To every attentive reader of history, there will appear to have been at some period, in that of every nation, a series of fortunate casualties tending to its elevation ; and at another period, a course of evils accelerating its decline ;—some tissue of arbitrary events so forcibly urged, so intricately connected, and so efficaciously pursued, that Providence should seem therein a direct and special agent working to some great and necessary end, and giving thereto the most unequal chances of policy and enterprize a uniform contingency, evading all conclusions from human calculation and foresight ! Such fatality seemed now pressing upon the state and fortunes of Athens ! Near Ægospotamos, the sailors and soldiers loose from discipline, were feasting or wandering ashore, when Lysander attacked the shipping ; the Athenians hurried on board in dismay and confusion ; their admiral Conon on the first onset, mindful of the recent example, fled rather from his troops, and from the judicature of the assembly, than from

## BOOK THE SECOND.

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from the enemy, and took refuge in Cyprus ; thus the victory of Lysander became easy and decisive : in this last battle of Ægosspotamos, the Athenian navy was totally destroyed, a multitude slain, and three thousand Athenians who were taken, were adjudged to death ; the plea for this severity was the cruel design adopted of mutilating the Spartan captives, had their enemy been victorious ; thus horrid as this massacre seems, it carried the air of justice : the classic reader will observe, that such enormities were not peculiar to Greece ; the clement Cæsar practiced a similar but more atrocious cruelty on the capture of Uxellodunum, when (as himself tells us) he cut off the right-hand of every Gaul who had been guilty of the love of liberty and his country.

CHAP.

III.

Cæsar. B. G.  
L. 8. C. 44.

THIS last overthrow was decisive, and closed the long contest of twenty-eight years and six months, during which Justin emphatically observes, that the Athenians seem, *plus fortunæ varietate debellati, quàm vi victi*.

Justin. L. 5.  
C. 1.

ATHENS was now besieged by the forces of Lysander, and prepared for submission : the Lacedæmonian General purposely spun out the negotiation respecting the terms of capitulation, till famine and consequent distress within the town became so great, that the people finally opened their gates on such terms as seemed equivalent to a surrender at discretion : the shipping [134] was to be given up or destroyed ; the treasury to be at the disposal of the conquerors ; the walls of this noble city to be levelled with the ground ; and lastly, its commonwealth to be subverted, and the oligarchy imposed, that oligarchy which the Athenians so detested, and had spent so much blood and treasure to overturn in every other town of Greece ! Sparta detached a guard to protect the new governors, who moreover bribed to their interest three thousand of the refuse of the people, the more securely to sport with the lives and property of the rest.

Plut. Vit. Lysand.  
Diod. Sic.  
L. 13.  
Xen. Hist. 2.

UNDER.

CHAP.

III.



UNDER the tyranny of thirty of the most rapacious and merciless men, that ancient or modern annals have deigned to name, we now behold this once free and flourishing people! It were easy in fancy to give a lively colouring to a picture of despotic oppression;—let the reader's imagination take up the pencil; unless he be of opinion, that the polish and lenity of the modern age have rendered such subject unnecessary and uninteresting.

CHAP.

## CHAP. IV.

OF PHILOSOPHY.—OF SOCRATES.

CHAP.

IV.

HOWEVER instructive may be the detail of events that lead to the oppression of a free people, and subversion of their once flourishing and happy state, a general account of their miseries under the tyranny they are thus subjected to, can form no lesson either to enlighten the mind, or to improve the heart;—though particular instances may engage the feelings, and perhaps some instances inculcate no useless doctrine, whilst a good man struggling with distress, termed “a fight most acceptable before God,” is shewn to have been “most excellent in peace of mind, as well as in estimation before men.”—I have therefore avoided a general account of the despotic exertions in emulative barbarity practised by the tyrants of Athens; and I will therefore introduce a particular instance of that barbarity exerted against “one most wise and good.”—Are the epithets any ways separable?—alas modern practice, if not modern doctrine so assert:—But is goodness no part of wisdom, that whilst we seek to be wiser, we neglect to be better?—Is it well that the study of virtue is proscribed the schools of philosophy; and philosophy restricted to the experimenter of physics, to the visionary systematic, or to the idle hoarder of shells and prodigies?—were it not right whilst we instruct the intellect, to meliorate the mind; and as we elevate the human understanding, and fit it for serious and deep disquisition, would it not be useful to direct the spirit of research to objects that belong to social humanity, to the love of the neighbour, the respect of law, and the adoration of God?—to teach the man the duties of each relative situation, and make him know more, but to the purpose of his more duly fulfilling

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the

CHAP. the end of his being here on earth!—Is the academic discourse  
 IV. of no use but to give food to vanity,—to afford the disciple  
 { means of becoming arrogant in learning, and from the very per-  
 fection of his accomplishments, secluded from that philan-  
 thropy humanity prescribes, too proud for that deference society  
 demands, and disqualified for that humility his religion incul-  
 cates?

As the spirit of the enquirists into nature hath soared to the heavens, and left the terrestrial globe less accurately explored; so do we give up the study of ourselves, for that of the things of the world; and become knowing in what is known with little use, and surely with much detriment, whilst the hour hath been lightly passed, in which the constitution of reason and passion should have been given its proper habits; and the mind have been, when enlarged, at the same time formed to a moral fitness, under every casualty of season and circumstance.

ARE we not ashamed, when possessed of the aggregate experience of so many ages, to be less happy in ourselves, and less beneficial to our fellow-creatures, than many of less enlightened times?—are we not doubly ashamed, when with the advantages of a superiour moral, and of more authentic rules of conduct, we demean ourselves with less virtue here, and less fortitude on our passage to hereafter,—less virtue in life, and less fortitude in death? for who of this degenerate age hath lived, or shall die as Socrates! [135].

THE sages of the higher antiquity had been attentive to nature, and some had been visionary, and some subtle; some had been inquisitive, and discovered something, and all had been arrogant, and boasted much: they pretended to intuition in the first instance, reasoning in the second: they stated an assertion, presumed an hypothesis, argued thereon a system, then delivered a  
 moral

moral apothegm, and were sanctified to posterity :—but it was not  
extravagance of fancy, or hardihood of enquiry, or quaintness of  
position that seemed laudable in the judgment of Socrates ;—  
“ Wander not,” (said he) “ into what is foreign to thy be-  
“ ing, but learn to know thyself, and to deserve well of those  
“ with whom you live, and of Him, by whom you were placed  
“ here on earth.”

C H A P.  
IV.

Xenoph. mem.  
Socrat.

THE memoirs written by Xenophon are perhaps the most  
valuable and sterling little work which antiquity hath bequeath-  
ed us : it appears to be a tissue of notes taken and corrected from  
actual conversation.—The pointed particularity of the dialogue,  
the sentiment, the consistency throughout, all concur to au-  
thenticate the relation ;—and therein, what a portraiture of So-  
crates !—we find him not indeed, as in Plato, employed in an  
investigation of abstract beauty, or other visionary speculation,  
but we behold him attending to the duties of a good man. Even  
in the Phædon we have not the character of Socrates rendered  
amiable and captivating ;—the manner in which his wife Xan-  
tippe is dismissed the prison, and the churlish reproof to Cebes  
on his presuming to object to a position of his master, shew him  
in the light of a surly cynic, rather than in that of a philan-  
thropist, modest in his assertions, though confident in his hopes.  
Xenophon hath given us a picture of the gentle and virtuous  
friend to mankind ; he hath shewn him not only establishing  
a proper sense of religion and morality, and laying down  
principles of what is just and what is good, and what our  
duty under each known and each casual relation ; but his little  
offices of humanity too are particularized, and the narrative au-  
thenticated by the very names of those, whose distress was al-  
leviated, or vices eradicated by his lessons of prudence and vir-  
tue : Lamprocles is gently reprovèd for his want of filial piety,  
and induced to ask forgiveness of his mother ;—Chærecrates is  
prevailed

Platon. Phæd.  
Dial.

Xenoph. mem.  
Socrat.

CHAP. IV. prevailed on to cherish his brother's virtues, forget his frailties, and bury all unkindness in the tender recollection of the past joys of fraternal amity;—the good old Eutherus is advised and supported by him; the rich Crito is persuaded to take the poor but honest Archidemus, and prefer him in his service; and Diodorus is engaged to honour with his friendship and support the good, but penurious Hermogenes: vice he chastises, and folly he derides; he satirizes the fop, and he even condescends to reclaim the *sloven* Epigenes: every disciple comes from the intercourse a wiser, or a better man.

Xenoph. Hist.  
1. 2.

THAT *such* a man should be obnoxious to such a government as now ruled in Athens, is no matter of surprize: when the fate of the eight admirals was by the senate consigned to the judgement of a furious populace, Socrates was the only senator who declared against the concession, as a degradation of their order, and as a dereliction of every principle of equity and of their constitution. Ever consistent in thought and action, he was now adverse to the administration of the thirty, and boldly exposed their vices, their cruelties, and their peculation; and he instilled into the minds of the youth who attended to his documents, a love of virtue, and a detestation of the enormities which disgraced the government: hence arose the virulent resentment of the oligarchy;—whilst oppression raged in every quarter, So-

Diog. Laert.  
Vit. Socrat.

Seneca de tran-  
quill. anim.

*crates tamen in medio erat; et lugentes patres consolabatur, et desperantes de republicâ hortabatur*,—this was the cause, though not the reason assigned for prosecuting him; yet such was the purity, and general estimation too, of his character, that the accusation required the most artful preparation and management. It hath been observed that the Athenians were the most superstitious of the Greeks; and to divest Socrates of the love of the commonalty, he was charged with impiety, and the seduction of others to his heretical opinions, and the rhetorician

Pausan. in Att.  
& supra. C.  
15. l. 1.

Lycon

Lycon and others were suborned to calumniate his principles : having attacked his reputation of virtue, that of his wisdom was next the object of depreciation, and Aristophanes was hired by Melitus to write his comedy of the clouds in ridicule of his tenets, and mode of argument. The method of reasoning used by Socrates, was of the most forcible and yet of the most conciliatory kind ; for whilst by a train of questions he progressively led his scholar to a self-conception and acknowledgement of the doctrine he meant to inculcate, he so artfully managed his interrogatories, that the truth irresistably came from the mouth of the pupil he was instructing ; and knowledge was instilled whilst the disciple had the self-satisfaction and pride of having discovered, what in fact was suggested to him : this captivating logic and the purposes it was used to, were the objects of apprehension to his enemies, and were thence given as a subject for the satyrical muse of Aristophanes. In the “ clouds” of that poet, Socrates is made the master of persuasion to impiety towards the gods of his country, to the disregard of all law and justice, and to undutiful behaviour from the child to the parent ; and his language is represented as consisting of the meanest quibble and sophistry : the clouds in this comedy are supposed to be the divinities of Socrates, and he is introduced suspended in a basket, and in conversation with one Strepsiades ruined by vice and debt, who is become his scholar, in order to learn how to puzzle his creditors and evade justice ; Strepsiades utters the coarsest jests on the lessons he receives ; and Phidippides his son, to prove his proficiency in the philosopher’s school, in the fifth act beats his father, who then renounces his tutor and sets fire to the house ;—Socrates and Chærephon his follower bawl out in distress, and Strepsiades closes the play with the following lines, as being meant to be particularly impressed on the minds of the Attic audience :

CHAP.  
IV.

Ælian. var.  
Hist. L. 2.  
C. 13.

Xenoph.  
vide mem.  
sporism. &  
Platon. Phæd.  
Dial. &c.

Aristoph.com.  
Nubes.

—Why



— Why learn injuriously t' address the gods [136],  
 And yet behold the moon's bright seat above !—  
 Follow—strike home—for many charges brought,—  
 But most for this—" that he's blasphem'd the gods."

Diog. Laert.  
 Vit. Socrat.  
 Isocrat. En-  
 com. Busridis.

Such were the arts used to depreciate him, whom the oracle had announced to be the wisest of men ! yet after all, it was found necessary to employ the first, and most able orators to plead against him ; and the sophist Polycrates was engaged by Anytus. Socrates refused to plead in defence,—but what defence could avail, when virtue was the crime ! Posterity hath done justice to the innocence which supported him in the hour of death.—When the accusation of Melitus was impending over Socrates, and yet he prepared not any written or studied refutation : " Wherefore " (said Hermogenes) do you trifle away the precious hour in " desultory discourse, and not think of some answer to the argument of your accuser, or some plea to the favour of your " judges ?" " That answer (replied Socrates) hath been the " business of my whole life, of a long life, throughout strictly " conformable to truth and justice :"—to this idea he firmly adhered, confided in his virtue, and submitted to the event with a resignation, which could arise from nought, but a sound faith in the being and goodness of a great and ever *super-intendant* God !

Xen. Mem.  
 Socrat.

Platon. Dial.  
 Crito.  
 Eujud. Dial.  
 Phædon.

THOUGH the dialogue with Crito [137] probably never passed, yet the offer of Crito to assist Socrates in escape from prison, was probably made ; though the long detail of Phædon to Eche- crates, can scarcely be presumed authentic as to the argumentative part, for, nor was Plato present, nor could even Plato, if present, have classed and related at second-hand so prolix and subtle a course of reasoning ; yet is the dialogue, independent of its very important subject of disquisition, in many parts curious from

from the anecdotes interspersed, and through the notoriety of which, Plato thought to give a genuine stamp to the philosophical parts of the treatise: among these may be remarked, “ the observation of Socrates with respect to pleasure and pain, “ when his fetters were knocked off;” “ his verification of the “ fable of Æsop,” “ the sacrifice to Æsculapius,” and many other circumstances; among which ought not to be forgotten, the complacent smile and blessing bestowed on his executioner, whose lowering eye could not refrain a tear, when he held forth the deadly cup to so good and wise a man.

“ To me (exclaims Xenophon) his death itself seems a demonstration of how much he was beloved of the gods, who “ cut off the few remaining burthensome hours of life, and on “ the eve of decrepitude granted him the easiest of deaths!”— “ Such was the wisdom, and such the magnanimity of this man, “ that I ever must remember, and remembering, ever regret and “ respect him; and if in future times, any who are friends to “ virtue and to the virtuous, shall boast acquaintance with a “ better, and with a more *useful* member of society, than was “ Socrates;—I hesitate not to pronounce that man,—the first “ and most blest of mortals.”

Xen. Apolog.  
Socrat.

## CHAP.

## C H A P. V.

## V.

OF THE EXPEDITION OF THE TEN THOUSAND—PARALLEL OF  
THE COMMENTARIES OF XENOPHON AND OF CÆSAR.

HAVING arrived at that period of history of which the Anabasis of Xenophon forms so interesting an episode, I am induced to digress somewhat on that subject, if digression it can be called, to follow the Greeks [138] to Persia, and to mark their conduct and courage in that country, whence in former times, invasion came upon them in so stupendous and formidable a shape;—to think of the glorious resistance made to so tremendous an attack by so small a number, and then to consider the fortitude and perseverance of as small a number of the same country, and exerted with success in the very center of that empire which had been the original aggressor.

Xen. Encom.  
Agefilai.

WHEN a Spartan army is led forth by a veteran king, flushed with conquest, and actuated by resentment, it may be conceived, that success will attend the enterprize, even when directed against the most numerous tribes of the populous, but enervate Persia: I can read of, and yet not wonder at, the victories of Agefilaus.

Isocrat. Paneg.

BUT that a number of men, collected from distant parts, driven by misfortune or crime from their paternal hearth, much alienated from patriot sentiments, and long disused to their national virtues, should under the predicament of casual connection, recall to mind the social spirit and unanimity, which distinguished their once-loved homes, and form a brotherhood in their distress, faithful in its internal constitution, and brave and united

in

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V .

in its exterior efforts ; that all should so suddenly lose sight of mercenary views and of foreign habits ; and in a moment recover the spirit of old Greece, and assume the deportment of its independent soldiery of yore ; all this surely proves, how deeply was rooted, and of how pure a nature was the germ of martial virtue fostered by republican principles and practice, which no season could corrupt, no difficulties appall, and no time oblivate.

CYRUS rebelling against his brother Artaxerxes, mustered his army at Sardis, and collecting together the Greeks thereof, gave the command to Clearchus the Spartan : in mere sportive evolution this body of men (says Xenophon) displayed a firmness and impetuosity that terrified the spectators, and even army to which they were auxiliary ; thence Cyrus entertained a happy presage of success, and from that moment showed the utmost deference to every soldier of fortune, who could plead the merits of Grecian birth : this favourite band was during the whole tedious march from the coasts of the Ægean to Assyria, enticed, flattered, promised ; its wantonness, its wildest pretensions heard, and its most extravagant demands acquiesced in ; even when traversing the vast and desolate plains of Asia, its provision was well supplied and of good quality ; and the famished Persian eyed the Greek soldier vigorous from plenty, and even ruddy with excess : these circumstances should be remembered when we come to view them forsaken by prosperity, and yet retaining the elation of spirit, the pride of worth, the contempt of arrogant authority, and all the haughtiness ease and power could give, and preserving these qualities of the happy when oppressed by the leaden hand of adverse fortune.

Ctesia. Excerpt. H. Steph.  
Xenophon.  
Anabasis, usque  
ad finem.

THE hostile brothers, Cyrus and Artaxerxes, at length met  
to enter into decisive conflict for the crown : the Greeks per-

D d

formed

CHAP. V. formed the part assigned to them with conduct and courage; they charged with a discipline and fury which nothing could resist, they broke through successive bodies of the Asiatics, and instilling on every side a panic at their approach, were victors on the first onset, with only one man wounded by a random arrow; nor through the whole day of battle did they suffer any reverse of fortune, but retired from the field without any loss of consequence, to damp the joys of conquest with one tear of regret. The opposite army consisting of twelve hundred thousand combatants, covered a vast extent of ground, and victory on the right implied no certitude of the general fortune of the day; the Greeks remained under arms the whole night without refreshment, and anxious for the fate of Cyrus;—on the next morning arrived an account of his death, and of the rout and overthrow of all his forces, excepting their own singly unbroken band: without hesitation the Greeks then sent to the Satrap Ariæus, who was lieutenant to Cyrus, and who had rallied the fugitives, and recovered some remnant of his army, and they offered to support any claim he might make to the Persian diadem; but Ariæus deemed it madness to think of dethroning an hereditary king at the head of more than a million of soldiers animated with conquest.

ARTAXERXES sent to them to deliver up their arms:—“ We want them (said Clearchus) whether as friends, or as enemies, whether to serve him, or to defend ourselves:” They afterwards replied in a haughtier strain, and refused even to treat, unless previously supplied with provisions, and every other necessary. The mighty Persian army feared the necessity of coping with the desperation of these few brave men; the refreshment was granted; it was deemed adviseable to substitute treachery for force, and to circumvent, and not combat with them: nearly were they victims to this mean policy of the Persian, Clearchus  
and

and their several other captains being on some amicable pretext, allured to the tent of Tiffaphernes, and there perfidiously put to the sword.

C H A P.

V.

IT was now that the virtue and perseverance of the Greeks were put to a hardy trial. Those were slain whom habit had taught them to listen to and obey ; there were none, whose long pre-eminence in council or in action might warrant attention in those around ; Xenophon himself was little known among the troops : —“ I have heard (said Cherisophus) that one Xenophon “ an Athenian was with the army, but to the hour of this necessary debate, I knew not of his particular fortitude and wisdom.” The tale of the massacre was unfolded ; the warmth of resentment flushed each private soldier, and with unanimity all breathed the voice of defiance to the cruel and insidious Persian. The lost captains were immediately replaced with those the most experienced, and confided in by the troops ; and the firmness of spirit, and national attachment of the soldiery was so great, that distressed and endangered as was this little army of ten thousand men, but three hundred Thracians under Miltocythes, and twenty others under one Nicarchus, were found base enough to desert their fellow-sufferers, and go over to Artaxerxes.

IN all times of public difficulty and peril, virtue ability and courage will take the lead, and in some degree supersede all other authorities of political usage or convention ; the influence of Xenophon was founded merely in such pretensions and circumstances ; his advice was listened to with deference, his conduct regarded with confidence, his example followed with emulation. It was not Xenophon, it was Cleanor, who was vested with the title at least of superior command : Cleanor summoned a general council, and the result of the debate was a determination to force a retreat towards their native country ; nor was it in ignorance

CHAP. of its difficulties that they resolved on this expedition ; to induce them to a surrender at discretion, the rapid rivers, and the  
 { V. mountains and deserts they were to pass, the excesses of climate and famine they were to bear up against, and ferocious nations they were every where, and constantly to cope with, repeatedly had been urged to them ; and the account blackened with every horror the extravagance of Eastern eloquence could bestow.

SCARCELY had the Greeks struck their tents, when a large detachment under Tissaphernes appeared hovering on their rear : when they began to march, the Persian horse infested them on all sides, they were galled with their darts and javelins, and being without cavalry, stood in passive torment, the sport of an enemy wantonly brave in the security of his speed : to repel these incursions they gave up their baggage, mounted a choice number of soldiers on the horses, and the next onset sallying impetuously from within the hollow square, they chased back the Persian cavalry with confusion from the field. The Persians truly kept them in constant watchfulness, harrassed them with slings and darts, cut off their provender, and intercepted their road ; but it was an enemy they had been so used to conquer, that each soldier was invincible in the confidence built on past experiment : but nature threatened their resolution with a severer trial ; they saw the Tigris pouring a vast and rapid torrent intercepting their journey to the west ; and northward, whither the only remaining path conducted, appeared the towering mountains of the Carduchi, a bold and untamed nation, savage in its courage, and of a strength and agility suited to the rugged country it was to defend : Seven whole days were the Greeks in their passage through this inhospitable district, struggling with every obstacle, which, from the face of the country and belligerent disposition of its inhabitants, might justly be apprehended : rocks were rolled incessantly down the precipices, and arrows were shot from each covert, of such length

length and firmness as to serve the Greeks instead of javelins, and they were sent from the bow with a force that broke the strongest shield:—such was the foe they were to combat with, to dislodge from heights, to break through in passes, and every where to fight at odds.

DESCENDING from these mountains, at the foot flowed the river Centrites, on the opposite bank was a mighty army, and with it a body of the *warlike* Chaldæi under the Satrap Orontes, and still on their rear poured the arrows of the Carduchi: but the rich plains of Armenia courted the soldier's eye; he was told that the passing of this stream was his last and only difficulty, and that he was to revel in the delightful fields before him, and repay himself for every past trouble with unresisted pillage of the effeminate possessors. Enured to danger, and enflamed with hope, the Greeks passed a rapid and dangerous stream in the face of a numerous enemy, and followed by another, whose savage force and intrepidity were a match for superior numbers, or for any thing,—save the habitual cool valour of discipline, and high spirit of national honour, which made this small body of Greeks so boldly undertake, and so successfully pursue their stupendous design. Having repelled the mountaineers, having crossed the river, having routed the adverse army, having reached the fountain of the Tygris, other and new dangers, awaited them;—Teribazus entered into treaty with, merely to betray them; but they discovered the treacherous design previous to the ambuscade, and revenged themselves with a bloody animosity the perfidy might warrant.

NOR bold, nor insidious hostility, nor the natural difficulties accruing from a desert or broken country, had appalled the Greek valour and perseverance; but from the heavens a fiercer foe came on, and to whom nearly they had yielded; winter, with all the severities incident to the season in a vast continental.



CHAP. V. mental tract, threatened them with cold and famine; continued snows obstructed their march; the constant white glare deprived many of their sight; during the night their bodies were covered with fleas, icicles hung from their very flesh, their sandals were frozen to their feet, and their toes and fingers mortified; many lost the use of their limbs, some had their very senses buried in a general numbness and torpidity, and were only by force of torment brought back to life; many too died; dearth and cold kept pace together, there was no refreshment to elate the spirits, and fortify the blood against the bite of the frost:—despondency cast a gloom around, and melancholy revibrated from face to face, and from mind to mind till all was horror and despair!—a body of the enemy at this moment approached, “If we are to die (said Xenophon) let us die sword in hand!” Few could be persuaded to follow him; those few, however, were victorious, and animated with success, returned to rouse and encourage their despairing brethren; they exhorted, or compelled them to march, and fortunately soon arriving at some rich villages, the army was preserved: the troops being refreshed, with their strength recovered their wonted fortitude; the small towns to which they were indebted for a few days plentiful support, not being of extent to sustain them for a longer period, they were necessitated to proceed. Other rivers, other sandy plains, other mountainous passes remained, and other barbarous warriors to defend them: the Chalybes, the Taochi, the Phasianians were successively routed, and the whole country, as it were, *fought through* with unremitting bravery, till about nine thousand of thirteen thousand Greeks who enlisted under Cyrus, arrived on the summit of mount Theches, whence discovering the Euxine sea, they rended the air with acclamations of joy! Here they paused to raise trophies, to sacrifice to their gods, to recapitulate their past troubles, bless the divine favour, and somewhat too exult in the courage and conduct, which had ex-

tricated

tricated them from each difficulty. If ever the sun shone on any multitude happy without alloy, it was when its ray gilded the armour of these Greeks, contending in the ring, the race, and other sportive games, rejoicing in the unwonted celebration, and reminding each other of the appendant usages in their native Greece, and what was shewy, and what necessary, and what might be omitted, and what was forgotten; whilst the view of the sea gladdened each eye that casually turned from the sports, and the anticipation of an easy, and no longer toilsome passage homeward warranted their mirth, and enhanced the felicity of the scene.

HERE the retreat may not improperly be closed, for here its particular hardships were at an end: other dangers and difficulties hereafter indeed attended them, but mostly they were the consequences of their own ill-conduct: instead of Greeks awakened to fraternal sentiments by the rude call of adversity, we are to behold men secure and insolent from success: prosperity quickly transmuted the patriot-soldier into the mutinous mercenary:—they divided, they rejoined, they separated in search of pillage, and whole detachments were cut off;—they deposed, ordained, and again deposed their leaders; they entered into alliance with the Mosynæci, and into service with Seuthes.

PRIVATE worth may be tutored into excellence by a lesson of misery and hardships, but it too hath other resting place in the natural disposition, and in reason, and in habit: *public* virtue is the child of, and exists but in, adversity; *the flock croud together beneath the storm; and when the day brightens, —separate, and quarrel for a weed!*

QUINCTILIAN [139] hath lightly sketched a comparison between the Greek and Roman historians: he mentions Herodotus and

Quintil.  
L. 10. C. 1.

C H A P.

V.



and Livy as having equal pretensions ; but surely the tales in the first book of Herodotus are not of a merit, to contest the prize of history with those books of Livy which afforded a text for the famous comment of Machiavel ; nor do I think that the Greeks account of the Persian wars, is equal to the famous decad of the punic invasion : Polybius would in my opinion afford a more apposite parallel ; his having written on Roman subjects no ways vitiates the propriety of comparing them, and in doing so, those who are not led away by the quaint phrase of ‘ *Lactea ubertas* ’ applied to Livy, will admit his pretensions to energy as well as eloquence : their stile is undoubtedly different, and in this the Latin hath the better of the comparison ; in other respects to use a phrase of Quintilian, they are ‘ *pares magis quam similes.* ’ Quintilian doubts not to oppose the merits of Sallust, to those of Thucydides ; on this head I have my doubts ; independent of his emphatic stile and air of accuracy throughout, the introductory book of Thucydides is a masterpiece of recapitulation, and may be placed in parallel with the first book of Machiavel’s History of Florence, the best epitome (I think) of the kind ; but the preambles of Sallust though eloquent and ingenious, are somewhat forced and inapplicable. The histories of Xenophon I read with pleasure, but cannot admit them to vie with the above authors, either of his own country or the Romans : I am rather inclined to allow to the latter the general palm of history. What doubts I may have, the annals and histories, and particularly the detached pieces of Tacitus are calculated to remove ;—if language and sentiment suitable to each action, and concisely explanatory of motive and event, if in the words of Sallust, ‘ *factis dicta exæquanda,* ’ constitute the merit in this branch of literature, who is the writer, that hath given policy, facts, and character more force, and in fewer, and in better words, than Tacitus ? to a proper and able reader, Tacitus explains, whilst he appears simply to

Bell. Catalin.  
Sallust.

to relate a mystery; and developes the recesses of policy and character, whilst he professes to recite merely effects and conduct.

CHAP.

V.

THE military memoirs of Cæsar and of Xenophon may be considered as a distinct and new branch of literature, and may afford fresh subject for contest and criticism: the pretensions of the Roman and Greek are respectively strong, and their different merits may afford scope to the advocate of either language or writer.

I MEAN not to enter into a minute enquiry, but rather as a key to such disquisition, observe, that in the Latin work, we have the commentaries of a General, vested with a legitimate command; in the Greek, the journal of an officer in subordinate authority though of high estimation: the speeches of the one, are replete with imperial dignity; of the other, delivered with the conciliatory arts of argument and condescension: the oratory put into the mouth of others, is by either author happily introduced, and suited to party and to circumstance; with exception, however, to a speech of Cyrus in the memoirs of Xenophon, who, though in quest of the despotic crown of Persia, is made to harangue for Greece and liberty. Accounts of the face of the country, of the characters of the inhabitants, and even of very families, were collected and transmitted to the great leader in chief; and thence from Cæsar we have a curious and well authenticated detail relative to the Gauls, the Britons, and every other enemy: Xenophon is superficial with respect to any peculiarities of the nations he passed through, his mind was absorbed in the care of those under his command; but thence we are better acquainted with the Greek army, than with that of Cæsar's: Cæsar's attention was ever directed to those he was to attack, to counteract, or to oppose; Xenophon's, to those he was to conduct; Cæsar is often circumstantial, but

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never

CHAP. never diffuse; Xenophon, were he less eloquent, I should call  
 V. prolix, without being particular. Cæsar gives the characters of  
 men in a display of their actions and of their speeches; it became not the dignity of the great Roman General to minutely discriminate the private merits and demerits of an individual;—but Xenophon might properly descant thereon, with the nice observation of a by-stander, following the bent of philosophic enquiry: the character of Cyrus was indeed worthy the pen of Cæsar, but a detail of the virtues of Proxenus and vices of Me-  
 non, were a more proper subject for the more private writer: in his portraiture of these men, and of that of Clearchus, Xenophon hath displayed the most nervous and pointed eloquence; the energy of which is a fine contrast to the easy rhetoric of the speeches, and elegant simplicity of diction in the narrative, which so singularly characterise these most beautiful memoirs. It may be observed, that Xenophon hath in this work artfully interspersed every circumstance which might conduce to the giving a favourable idea of his own character;—one Phalinus is introduced, deriding him for his virtue and philosophy; his happy temper and moderation are hinted at in the observation, “that  
 “ he never had a dispute with any other captain but once, and  
 “ that a trivial one, with Cherisophus;” the general idea of his bravery, his religion, and his eloquence, is strongly marked throughout; every speech himself makes (if I rightly remember) is evincive and effectual: the *certain Athenian called Xenophon*, is thus in succession vested with every accomplishment, and through the well-wrought veil of modest phrase, is at length discoverable the arrogance of a brave and virtuous, but vain man.

## C H A P. VI.

C H A P.  
VI.

RESTORATION OF THE COMMONWEALTH—AND OF ITS DOMINION—OF ITS CORRUPTION ENSUING THIS SUCCESS.

IN discoursing of the prior times of the republic, I cautiously refrained from *the stories in history*, and rejected the apothegms and anecdotes of distinguished individuals, as ill-suited to the purpose of this work; nay, I testified my disapprobation of the writer who should degrade a community by a selected instance, and drawing the attention of his reader from the characteristics of a great nation to the character of a great man, seem to bid him remark transcendent virtue as an exception, and not a rule: the spirit of those times warranted the remark;—the whole people of Athens, during the Persian wars, seemed so united in their pursuit of what was good, and what was great, that to praise one, seemed injustice to all; but this galaxy of bright and excellent qualities, wherein to distinguish and fix on, any one more bright and more excellent than the rest, was so difficult for the eye, gradually lost its indiscriminate lustre, and became a constellation of lesser and of greater stars, which in proportion to the dimness of the whole, have shone out conspicuous to the view, and have attracted our attention to their superior brilliancy and magnitude; thus my regard hath of late unwarily been drawn from a consideration of the whole to its more particular and luminous spots: looking back on my comment, I find it from time to time, attending more and more to individual names and to characters; the further I proceed, the more I foresee I shall thus deviate from the principle I at first

CHAP. VI. laid down ; but this deviation, originates it not in the progressive, and inevitably [140] changeable course of my subject ?

Xen. Hist. 2. WE left Athens to rue its past crimes and follies under the tyranny of the oligarchy : cruelty and oppression had soon proscribed or driven into exile the best of the citizens ; and scattered through the neighbouring states, they were idly bewailing the loss of their country : “ In these [141] times,” says Nepos (and I think he might have said it of all times) “ good men were more inclinable to harangue, than to fight for liberty.”—Such conversation is not, however, without its consequence ; the mind is thereby moved from its passive state, and may thenceforward be more easily directed to a particular action, if there is any one to urge and lead it on.

Ibid. THRASYBULUS, a captain of some renown in the latter period of the Peloponnesian war, was among those who had taken refuge in Thebes ; for Thebes, and every other state of importance, was willing to receive and cherish the Athenian fugitives : the extirpation of a people who had so long balanced the empire of Greece, seemed a prelude to the uncontrollable dominion of the opposite party ; the apprehension of any further encroachments of Sparta secured a favourable reception to those, who alone had seemed equal to opposing her pretensions ;—thus others besides its banished citizens, wished, and some were ready to abet the restoration of the republic, and once again set it up in hostile rivalry to the Peloponnese.

Ibid. THE temper of men was in that state, that nothing but a first mover seemed wanting : Thrasylbulus had the dexterity to engage, and courage to lead forth, seventy [142] followers on a sudden and desperate expedition ; and the first wheel being thus touched, the whole machine was quickly in motion : this small party  
issuing

issuing out in the depth of winter, surprized the fortrefs of Phylé in the vicinity of Athens, from the severity of the season, not strictly guarded or attended to ; the fame of success encreased their number ;—they marched on to the Pyræus, then seized and entrenched themselves on the cove of the Munychia ; whence sallying, they met and defeated the mercenary forces of the oligarchy, slew two of their chiefs, and closely laid siege to the remainder, who had retired within the citadel. Though there might be some hyperbole in the allegation of Cleocritus, “ that  
 “ the oligarchy had put to death more Athenians in the eight  
 “ months of its power, than the Peloponnesians had done in the  
 “ ten last years of war ;” yet many of these despots, and many of the three thousand they had hired and involved in their crimes, felt too conscious of the just resentments they had incurred, and too apprehensive of a vindictive retaliation to admit a thought of compromise, and they prepared for the most desperate resistance : others, less guilty, sought to avoid complicating their situation with that of those most amenable to the justice of their fellow-citizens, and they had their separate meetings and resolutions : the very division alarmed the thirty, and fearful of the result of secret debates, and apprehensive of being given up to the rage of those whom they had plundered and exiled, they privately withdrew to Eleusiné. The heads of the faction remaining within the citadel, then constituted a military government of ten, and by the shew and posture of defence sought to attain terms, or in default thereof, to hold out till such time as assistance might come from Lacedæmon ; and shortly Lyfander came with an army of mercenaries, with intent to dislodge Thrasybulus from the Munychia, and to replace the instruments of oppression, in a firmer and more despotic sovereignty. Pausanias, the king of Sparta [143], envied the renown and feared the growing authority of Lyfander, and going forth, as he pretended, to reinforce and assist the prior detachment, he took the lead in the expedition, and from desire of counteracting  
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Xen. Hist. 2.

Plut. Vit. Lyfandri.

Pausan. in Lacon.

Justin. L. 5. C. 10.

Xen. Hist. 2.



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and vexing his rival, withheld the sword, treated with the exiles, and permitted a restoration of the commonwealth : nor did the Ephori hesitate to ratify the conditions ; Lyfander was become too great a subject in the limited monarchy (or duarchy) of Sparta, and the envy of its king was abetted by the sober apprehensions of these guardians of the constitution of state, who preferred the occasion of abasing the pride and power of an ambitious citizen, to that of reinstating a delegated sovereignty in a city so depopulated, so impoverished, and so defenceless as was Athens : it was deemed sufficient for the honour of Sparta to prescribe terms by which those who were most obnoxious, should be permitted to retire to Eleusiné, and that a general act of amnesty should preclude future prosecutions, and reconcile the remainder of the citizens. The commonwealth was thus restored, the old laws and the old magistracies were revived, and the procedure sanctified in the temple of Minerva by the plight of mutual faith, and a solemn adjuration to the ancient constitution of the government ; unless some little alteration may be presumed, from what Isocrates mentions of the effect of the late despotic cruelties on the renovation of the republic : says he, “ from an abhor-  
“ rence [144] of tyranny, we ran into a greater extreme of de-  
“ mocracy.”

Isocrat. orat.  
de pac.

THE republic was now, like a convalescent, purged indeed of many gross and noxious humours, but as yet of a weak and tremulous frame ; adversity, that best preceptor had bestowed no unprofitable lesson ; penury had broken the habits of dissipation, and dangers and the heavy hand of oppression, had enured the courage and humbled the arrogance of the citizens : they set out anew without partialities for any demagogue to lead them astray, and without wealth to corrupt them ; but then their former empire was mutilated, or rather gone ; their walls, their very shipping were destroyed, and they had nought to trust to, for their elevation, but the never failing and energetic spirit

spirit of their government ;—*the Genius of the democracy* ! This however could not be the work of a moment: the first we hear of the Athenians, after the expulsion of the oligarchy, is that they received and obeyed an order from Sparta to reinforce Thimbro with three hundred horse in his expedition to Ionia, and afterwards that they followed, an humble and dependant ally to the Elean [145] war.

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VI.

Plut. Vit.  
Agefilai.  
Diodor. Sic.  
L. 14.  
Xen. Hist. 3.

LEOTYCHIDES the son of the queen Timæa was suspected to be the fruit of her intimacy with Alcibiades, and with the help of a few oracles newly vamped up and well explained, was illegitimated in favour of his uncle Agefilaius ; who conscious of the doubtful right by which he held the crown, sought by an animated conduct to draw the attention of men from his title to his merits, and make not *why*, but *how* he wielded the sceptre of Sparta, the scope of observation : Lysander had anticipated the crop of laurels from Greece ; but Asia seemed to open a fresh and inexhaustible field of renown ; and thither he directed the war. The satraps in the maritime governments of Persia desirous of diverting the storm, sent forth emissaries to intrigue with every Grecian city of importance, and to incite them to hostilities with Sparta : it was a favourable crisis for shaking off the dominion of that haughty state ; a rupture was pleaded for with all the force of oratory, and that oratory backed with more persuasive gold ; Thebes and many other states received the advice and money of Persia with approbation : Athens had at this period re-adopted some notions of the patriot-virtues of her ancestry, and admitted not the minister of bribery within her walls ; but the opportunity of raising herself, with all Asia as it were, to help her, and in her turn to set her foot on the neck of those who had treated her so harshly in her moment of distress, flattered too much her ambitious hopes and ardour for revenge, for her to resist the invitation : an honourable pretext for intermeddling was easily found ; Thebes had opened her gates to the Athenians in exile, and the Athenians

Xenoph. en-  
com. Agefilai.

Xen. Hist. 3.

CHAP. Athenians from gratitude voted an offensive, and defensive alliance with Thebes, who was connected offensively and defensively with the Persians.

VI.

Polyb. Hist.  
L. 2.

POLYBIUS mentions a fact which proves at once the force and the poverty of the Athenians on this occasion: their city was again become populous from the return of the exiles, and their commercial habits and ancient experience, quickly became the basis of a new and rising navy; thus they furnished the Thebans with above six thousand [146] heavy armed troops, and with a considerable reinforcement of shipping, and yet retained a reserve of either force sufficient for home defence: but when at this eve of a rupture with Sparta, a general census or estimation of property was instituted in order to ascertain the resources of state, and the quota of tax to be levied from each individual, the collective property of the Athenians real and personal, amounted only to five thousand seven hundred and fifty talents, being a less sum than at the demise of Pericles was amassed in the treasury alone. That Attica was untilled, and the farms unstocked, the city strewn with ruins, the slaves emancipated, and the money and plate carried off in pillage, were the obvious consequences of the long Peloponnesian war; of the siege, and of the capture by Lysander; and of the avarice and oppression of the oligarchy: to these very evils perhaps the commonwealth owed its sudden restoration to empire, as well as to freedom; the Athenians too poor and too weak to be feared, were permitted to re-establish their democracy; and too necessitous and too enterprising to await the recovery of their fortunes by the slow steps of agriculture and œconomy, they were again, forced as it were, on the seas; their old success in the traffic of freightage induced them to build ships before houses, and this event of necessity, was a step to greatness: says Procles the Phliasian in a speech to the Athenian assembly [147] “Most of ye gain your

Xenoph. *ιστορ.*  
*περὶ πολέμου.*

“ your livelihood from the seas, and thus the care of your individual sustenance and wealth begets a preparation and expertness, which fit ye for marine armament and contests.” At the time Athens entered into alliance with Thebes, she had already an hundred vessels of war equipped and manned : the confederacy against Sparta began to spread from the grounds of this compact ; all who feared or envied its power were bribed or persuaded into a conjunction of force, till the social league became of so great extent, that Sparta to oppose its progress, was necessitated to recal its troops from Asia. Agesilaus with regret obeyed the summons ; he had done [148] enough to irritate the king of Persia, and had not done enough to benefit his country ;— he had merely made, and left, an enemy ; and his expedition had the effect of a ministry to conciliate the satraps with Athens, rather than that of an armament to humble them to Sparta.

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Xen. Hist. 6.

Justin. L. 6.  
C. 4.

Xen. encom.  
Agesil.

CONON profited of the juncture to connect himself with Pharnabazus ; he had not seen his country since the restoration of the commonwealth ; his behaviour in the last sea fight with Lyfander had rendered his integrity or courage suspected, and under these circumstances he thought proper to delay his return, till a favourable opportunity should occur, of recovering the good opinion of his fellow citizens, and of revisiting his natal spot with advantage and glory : he had so far ingratiated himself with Pharnabazus, that he entrusted him with the command of the Ionian and other provincial detachments of the Persian fleet, and even the Phœnician squadron was added to his strength by Artaxerxes, who listened to the intercessions in Conon's favour made by his friend Evagoras, then ruling the dynasty of Cyprus : off the city Cnidus, a city of the Carian Doris, nearly opposite to Rhodes, lay the united naval force of the Spartans ; Conon came up with, attacked, defeated, destroyed, or disabled the best of their shipping [149] : Honour once again took post by

Corn. Nep.  
Vit. Conon.  
Isocrat. Orat.  
ad Philipp.  
Justin. L. 6.  
C. 3.  
Xenoph. Hist.  
L. 4.

F f

the

CHAP. VI. the Athenian flag, and fame again trumpeted from the prow  
the stories of Mycalé and Salamis.

Xen. Hist. 5.  
Diod. Sic.  
L. 15.  
Corn. Nep.  
Vit. Iphicrat.  
Ejufd. Vit.  
Chabrias.

ON land too the republic was once more taught to vaunt the prowess of its soldiery, under the generalship of Iphicrates : eight and twenty long years of almost continued civil war had shown that mere Herculean force might be counteracted by dexterity, that in a word there were “ *arts of war* ;” and this ingenious people seem to be the first who turned this, as well as every other art, to its proper account : Iphicrates had so disciplined, so armed, and so enured every soldier of his army, that the man who had once seen service under his command, was valued thereon, and thereafter received an advanced pay under the title of an Iphicratenfis : Chabrias too was another great master of evolution, and every other military science, and once in this war by a simple, new, and unexpected manœuvre, put a stop to the career of Agefilaus at the head of the whole Spartan army, elated with victory and in the heat of pursuit.

Xen. Hist. 4.

THE Athenians under these Generals were daily gaining ground : when in small detachments joined with their allies they had indeed been beaten by Agefilaus, and by Dercyllidas ; but their separate armies under their own skilful leaders had every where met with success : they had been victorious in the countries of Arcadia, and of the Phliasii, and had surprized and put to the sword a large body of Spartans at Lychæum. The detail of these wars comprizes little matter of importance considered in a political view, however the greater outline of action and general result are deserving observation :—I shall not therefore particularize the enterprizes of each military partizan, and follow the petty armies of each district in their excursions and in their retreats. Worn out with the fatigues of incessant warfare, the Grecians entered not again with that spirit of animosity

fty into the field of civil contest; nor were the parties on either side willing to hazard the consequences of a decisive battle, whilst in the late subversion of the Athenian commonwealth, memory gave a general defeat so fatal and tremendous an aspect: skirmishes of small detachments, schemeful expeditions of active officers, and eloquent harangues of Generals and negociators fill up this page in the histories of Xenophon.

By sea, Conon, under the auspices of Persian patronage, and after him Thrasylbulus, conciliated or subdued many of the insular and other appendages of the ancient empire of Athens: says Isocrates [150], "our dominion was re-established in ten years, a less time than it had cost united Greece and Persia to abase and subdue us:" this observation was in some measure true; from the date of Conon's victories Xenophon says, that "the Athenians sailed over the seas [151] securely as in times of peace;" and it hath before been observed, that the islands of the Ægean were so numerous, and the coasts of Greece so extensive, in proportion to the face of the country, that a marine power had ever the greater share of controul. The sovereignty of Athens however was never again extensive or supreme as before; it owed too much of its elevation to Persia, and seemed in future to feel a dependancy that checked its progress; and the provinces and islands it resumed the dominion of, felt too that its power was scarcely its own, that they might resist it, and that they might find support. In truth, the king of Persia was the arbitrator of Greece; having supplied Conon with money and materials to rebuild the walls of Athens, and repair the Piræus, on the completion thereof even Sparta became intimidated, and sought his mediation: the imperious edict of the great king superseded all negotiation as to *terms* of peace, and at once closed these contests; his declaration to the Grecian ambassadors clearly manifests his superiority, and how well he had profited of the

Xen. Hist. 4.  
Diod. Sic.  
L. 14.  
Justin. L. 6.  
C. 5.  
Isocrat. Orat.  
Areopag.

Xen. Hist. 5.

CHAP. advice and policy of Alcibiades, when Greece was so weakened  
 VI. by intestine wars, as implicitly to acquiesce in the very letter of  
 Xen. Hist. 5. the following mandate :—“ *Artaxerxes [152] the king deems it*  
*“ just, that the cities in Asia be his, and likewise that the islands*  
*“ of Clazomené and Cyprus do belong to him : for other Grecian*  
*“ states both great and small, that they be severally enfranchised and*  
*“ independant, with exception to Lemnos, Imbrus, and Scyros,*  
*“ which as of old shall be subject to the Athenians ; and whatever*  
*“ state accepts not these terms, I will go to war with it, and its*  
*“ adherents, by sea and land, with power and with wealth :”* the  
 Thebans, and some others, murmured at the emancipation of the  
 cities under their jurisdiction ; to oppose however was vain ; and  
 a general peace called that of Antalcidas took place, to which  
 severally were parties, the Persians, the Spartans, the Athenians  
 and their allies.

THE weight of the fierce, and almost continued civil broil in  
 Greece, had fallen most heavily on Sparta and Athens, and on  
 such petty cities as were not of sufficient consequence to be  
 treated with deference and regard by the great master republics :  
 another, an intervening rank of states, whose adherence was suf-  
 ficiently important to exact consideration, and whose strength  
 was such as to ensure safe and honourable terms, or from friend  
 or from foe ;—such fattened on the war ; and as the expence of  
 wealth and men gradually weakened and impoverished the con-  
 tending and principal parties, these secondary republics succes-  
 sively started up, and each awhile figured on the theatre of his-  
 tory in some chief and leading part.

Xen. Hist. 5. OLYNTHUS in Thrace was among those which had grown so  
 heavy of late in the balance of sovereignty ; all the cities of the  
 vicinity were within its jurisdiction ; and Amyntas complained  
 to Greece that half his Macedonia, and even its capitol Pel-  
 la,

la [153], had yielded to the forces or intrigues of this encroaching neighbour : a considerable army was sent from Sparta under the conduct of Eudamidas, to equipoise the scale of power in those parts ; this he effected ; but scarcely was this new excrescence lopt, when from the very blow another hydra-head shot forth, and breathed defiance, and even menaced destruction to the assailant ! Phæbidas in march to reinforce Eudamidas in Thrace, forewent the immediate views of his destination, to take advantage of a commotion in Thebes, and assist in establishing the oligarchic party, and he left a detachment to protect the usurpation : the enterprize of Pelopidas, who surprized and massacred the Spartan guard, recovered the citadel, and restored the commonwealth, embroiled his country with the lordly conquerors of Athens ; unexpectedly it proved equal to the contest, and Sparta in her turn was to tremble for her dominion, for her very safety, and even existence.

CHAP.  
VI.

Plut. Vit. Pelopidæ.  
Corn. Nep.  
Vit. ejusd.

THE Athenians were made parties in the dispute by a curious devise of the Thebans ; they bribed Sphodrias, the Spartan governor of Thespiæ, to make an hostile attempt to burn the arsenal of the Piræus and ships in harbour ; his enterprize failed ; the Spartan ambassadors then in Athens disavowed the transaction, and assured the people of redress : a special complaint was forwarded to Sparta, and the Ephori immediately put Sphodrias on his trial ; when without evidence in his favour, and without even appearing to the summons, Sphodrias was acquitted ; “ because,” said Agesilaus, “ he has otherwise been a good citizen, and it is a pity to condemn him :” Athens justly irritated by the enterprize of Sphodrias, and further disgusted by the apparent duplicity of his countrymen, and the mockery of redress and justice displayed on the occasion, forthwith entered into alliance with Thebes, and joined heartily in the war.

Xen. Hist. 5.

Now



CHAP.

VI.

Corn. Nep.  
Vit.  
Timoth. &  
Chabrias.  
Xen. Hist. 6.

Now once again a fleet was equipped from the Piræus, and was in all parts successful; Chabrias beat the enemy from the seas, Iphicrates subdued Corcyra, and Timotheus recovered Samos, and coasting the Peloponnese at various descents, despoiled its cities, and laid waste the country.

Ibid.

THE Theban reaping the greater advantages of the war, and throwing more than the proportional weight thereof on the allies, Athens in disgust soon appeared inclinable to treat; and giving up a contest which she had entered into but from a hasty resentment, recur to a tranquil pursuit of population, of arts, and of the recovery of that commerce, which had once rendered her so rich and powerful: Iphicrates was recalled from Acarnania, where he was daily acquiring credit and advantage,—and perhaps a discovery of how deeply the Thebans themselves were engaged in the original plot on the Piræus, accelerated the treaty between Athens and Sparta, who speedily concluded a separate peace.

Diod. Sic.  
L. 15.  
Pausan. in Att.  
Justin. L. 6.  
C. 4.  
Plut. Vit.  
Epam.  
Xen. Hist. 6.

THEBES left alone to prosecute the war, was for a time dispirited, till in the field of Leuctra, that great (and more than great) that good citizen Epaminondas, by a sage and valiant conduct routed and completely vanquished the Spartans, with an army less numerous [154] than their own: elated with so noble a victory over a people used to despise all odds, and ask, “*not how many, but where their enemy were?*”—crowned with so bright a conquest, the Theban proclaimed it with exultation throughout Greece; and invited each city to partake in the humiliation of those who had so long and so tyrannically played the lord and master: Athens gave the herald of success but a cool reception; it was matter of debate, not whether Sparta should be attacked, but Thebes opposed; the dismemberment of Sparta and accession of its territories to Thebes, so much encreasing its power, might

might swell the current already full to its bank till it burst in inundation over the vicinities, and lay all around under the flood ; it seemed time to draw off the stream, or at least to place a dam to its further encroachment : Athens had already beheld the power of Sparta spread over her countries, and over the face of Greece ; and not even with the destruction of Sparta would she hazard from another quarter such another desolation of the liberties, of the arts, of the free intercourse, and of every other blessing of society ! in a full assembly it was concluded necessary to obviate the growing power of Thebes ; and now when no other city was willing to engage in so distressful an alliance, Athens voluntarily proffered friendship and succour to the Lacedæmonians, and Iphicrates accordingly was sent forth with an army to their assistance.

Not long after, in the famous battle of Mantinea [155], with the heroic Epaminondas, fell the greatness of his newly aspiring countrymen : the Thebans, by the advice of their dying general forewent the hopes of empire for a well-timed and honourable peace, which generally was come into, and with a particular readiness by Athens, as the equal power and freedom she fought for, seemed virtually secured by the very armistice. Every great and leading state of Greece had, in its turn, known the vicissitude from power to humiliation ; each had dearly rued a short-lived triumph with the loss of its treasure, and of the flower of its citizens ; every speech abhorrent of war, was echoed by the groans of the widow or of the orphan ; the peace might now therefore be presumed permanent, whilst the public ruin and private misfortunes gave every argument for it, its full weight, and a most favourable hearing. Peace however, like a feast long untasted, and then glutted on to excess, brought on gross corruption [156], and a whole train of disorders : men, because disgusted with war, seemed to think that their service in war

Xen. Hist. 7.  
Justin. L. 6.  
C. 8.  
Pausan. in  
Bæot.  
Plut. Vit.  
Epam.

C H A P.  
VI.

Demosth.  
Olynth. I.

Corn. Nep.  
Vit. Chabriz.

Justin. L. 6.  
C. 9.

Plut. Vit.  
Phocion.  
Athenæ. L. 12.

Demosth.  
Olynth. 1.

Diod. Sic.  
L. 14.  
Plut. Vit. Ly-  
sandri.

Athenæ. L. 2.

was never again to be required ; they gave themselves up to habits that incapacitated them for future exertion ; the fund set apart to answer any unforeseen exigencies of the public, was voted for public dissipation ; and their late brave and successful generals, disregarded by the people, and carped at by the demagogues, fled from envy and disgrace, and settled in distant parts. Little was it considered that a warlike mien, and an attentive and firm policy were the best sureties for the continuance of that state of tranquillity so much, and so ill, enjoyed : the rest of Greece seemed too much enraptured with the same indolence, or too much exhausted, to attend and profit of the weakness which supineness and luxury should produce among others ; and it was not pre-conceived that a petty Northern prince might, as he did, break through the obstacles that opposed him, and proceed with a force irresistible to the enervate Greeks, till in fine, he should attain that sovereignty, which had been so long and so sharply contested among themselves. Athens in particular was lulled into the most supine security ; attack was so little thought of, that every provision for even defence was diverted into some other channel ; their army was neglected, their arsenal and shipping left to wreck and ruin, and the funds applicable to their support, wasted on scenery and actors.

Nor were other great cities less votaries of corruptive ease ; nor even was Sparta [157] without infection ; Lyfander had brought home the gold of Persia and spoils of Athens ; Antalcidas the Spartan ambassador to Persia on the late peace, received as a present from the great king a chaplet steeped in perfumes, and to divert the donor, danced a saraband, in which he buffooned the heroism of Leonidas. Shall we wonder at the successes of Philip !

## CHAP. VII.

CHAP.  
VII.ESTIMATE OF MANNERS IN THE DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE  
AND OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF ATHENS.

NATIONAL character and particularities are rarely distinguishable in great and polished cities, which seem to have an uniform and general character of their own, resulting from the analogy of human passions acting on, and actuated by, the diffusive intercourse of a society matured and refined. The rich croud together within a capitol, ever with the same views of enjoyment, and the poorer classes ever with the views to sustenance from administering to the wants, and to the pleasures of the rich : the intermediate ranks of life are filled by those whom dissipation hath somewhat depressed, or whom industry hath somewhat elevated : thus every degree is interlinked and complicated ; and the gradations of character in the great and in the mean are further melted, as it were, together, through a vicious emulation, which incites each to trespass on the station above him, rather than to act as a fair competitor within his own proper class. Vanity and vice have then a reciprocative growth with the taste of refinement, and with the sense of enjoyment ; and the measure thereof is to be estimated only by the means of attainment, ever fluctuating in the great mass of the people at large ;—from the fortunes of commerce and menial ingenuity,—or from the pre-eminence of genius, invention, and mental acquirement,—or lastly, from assiduity in the mean practices, of adulatory dependance, and of preying on the vices and necessities of others. Societies so constituted in consequence of the progress of arts,

G g of

of sciences, and of the refinements which satiety urges the ingenuity in quest of, bear a strong and mutual likeness from the occurrence of similar situations operating on the common passions and understandings of men, through the general medium of polished manners and depraved morals, which have been generated in the progress of sensual gratification, and of the arts to supply it.

MOREOVER, as the constituents of a state become fastidious and corrupt, the government ordinarily approaches nearer to an oligarchy or to despotism, and thus further assimilates the characters of men in the capitol of empire. Thus under analogous circumstances of polished intercourse, the practices and pursuits of every people display something, which belongs so much to all great cities, as well as to one great city, that marks of national prejudice and particularity are worn away or scarcely perceptible; as in those pictures placed in a full sun, the distinguishing lines and colours are lost in the glare, which at once brightens and confounds each part and object.

THE above speculations are not only just when examining them by the test of cotemporary examples, but even when stated with allusion to cities which have flourished in wealth and elegance at the most distant periods: the characteristics of Theophrastus are almost as applicable in any other city as in a Grecian, and as well at this day, as in the times he wrote them.

HAVING premised such general reflections, which have their share in an estimate of the manners of this great city, because they belong to the estimate of every great city; the purpose of this chapter is to remark some peculiarities, and more especially the exceptions that distinguished Athens, from its free commonwealth having survived its virtue; and from its democracy having become a tyrant, to which even pride and opulence bowed  
in

in obedience ; to which arts and literature offered their incense, and to the caprices of which are to be attributed the extraordinary connections of grossness and elegance, of courteousness and oppression, of philanthropy and injustice, which are to be traced in the authorities on which the present investigation is founded.

C H A P.  
VII.

IT hath been stated, that the legislator had placed the election to military office, and to many executive trusts within the state, in the suffrages of the assembly ; the qualification for all offices was scrutinized within the respective tribes, and occasionally all offices were filled by the immediate interposition of the people, when at a critical juncture they thought proper to supersede the mode of ballot or rotation. The ultimate resort too of policy and of justice were vested in the people by the institutions of Solon and of Clisthenes, who invented the ostracism ; the usage of "*provoco ad populum*" from the courts of judicature in general, and even from the Areopagitæ, was afterwards introduced by Ephialtes, at the instigation of Pericles ; the rendering account to the assembly of the conduct of each magistracy was part of the original institution ; the rendering account of disbursements of the public monies was thereon grafted, when the empire of the seas, the dominion acquired in consequence, and the tributes thereon imposed, gave rise to the office of quæstor of Greece, who soon was quæstor only for Athens. Whilst the necessities and fears of the people drew their regard to the preserving and strengthening the republican compact, as the resource in danger, and afterwards as the source of acquisition, these powers were asserted with discretion, and generally were exercised under impressions of common interest in legislation, in good policy, and in relative justice. As the course of conquests begat the ascendancies of wealth and command, and extended too the circle of political functions ; and as riches thereby began to be valued, and office to be solicited ; and as those who were

Hist. supra.

Thucyd. L. 1.

C H A P.  
VII.

solicited began to entertain an equal sense of the value of the one, and of the favour conferred in bestowing the other; opulence became the chief means of power, and remuneration entered into the system of executive government, and the people received largesses from the ambitious, and from the responsible. These evils had been felt early in the Peloponnesian war; and Pericles when firmly seated in the administration, (perhaps with intent of obviating the intrigues and subornation which might be employed to dispossess him of his authority, no longer in itself dependant on these original means of elevation, procured the passing a law, adjudging to death those convicted of bribery in canvassing, or during any question pending before the assembly: but Isocrates tells us expressly, that in despite thereof [158], bribery at elections was general in his days, and this law wholly disregarded as obsolete; and says the great Grecian orator, "the gifts of corruption are now respectable, the bribery if even confessed, is treated as a jest, is treated as venial if adjudged, and the odium lays only on the accuser." Popular practice having introduced the venal system, it found its way into the courts of justice; the adjuration to the Prytanes in a comedy of Aristophanes, is a curious proof of the notoriety of such peculation; says Mnesilochus—

Isocrat. Orat.  
de pace.

Demosth.  
Orat. φιλων.  
§ 43.

Aristoph. Co-  
mœd.  
Thesmopho-  
rizusæ.

—By that right-hand, which oft [159] with open palm  
You tend with pleasure, if one brings you gold,  
Hear me, O Prætor!

THESE

Xenoph. Pol.  
Ath. C. 3. § 3.

Even the great causes of a public nature, and brought by appeal from the colonies, before the assembly, were to be expedited by bribery, (according to Xenophon) though he says not absolutely that the merits of the cause were adjudged under such influence.

THE idea of a popular assembly thus supreme, and at the same time corrupt and venal, suggests a consequent demeanor of the  
Eupatridai,

Eupatridai, or noble and rich, which compleats the scene of this flagitious age of Athens.

C H A P.  
VII.

THE Agrarian institutions circumscribed the landed property of each individual ; Alcibiades, though otherwise most wealthy, possessed but three hundred acres in Attica ; no one possessed more ; and the census of qualification being yet estimated on landed property (for the levelling principle and laws of Aristides seem rarely to have been recognized by the assembly) a man of high blood and ancient estate, but yet poor in comparison of others enriched from commerce and depredation, when he stood candidate for a military command or place of trust, moved, “ That  
“ public baths be built ; that public gardens be opened ; that new  
“ feasts, sacrifices, and theatrical shows be exhibited ; and even  
“ that the tributes of the provinces and islands be portioned out  
“ individually to the citizens, or applied aggregately to their  
“ amusement and gratification.” Others from the funds of their private accumulation gave general feasts, as well as presents severally to each citizen ; till the commonalty became so accustomed to donation, that they rather considered it in the light of a due than of a bounty, received it with indifference, and left private malice and envy to operate against those eminent for wealth and ability ; deeming it sufficient gratitude to withhold the censorial or judiciary decree, till no more was given, or till occasion of resentment offered. Chabrias having long corrupted the assembly, was necessitated to abscond from Athens from apprehensions of the envy which his excess of luxury had subjected him to, and from having exhausted the means of obviating popular displeasure : and Chares (according to Athenæus, who cites the authorities of Duris and Theopompus) kept his ground with the people sometime longer ere he seceded to Sigæum, merely from having misapplied a greater proportion of the funds for military levies, and thus having sufficient to pay his harlots and

Platon. Dial.  
Alcibiad.

Xenoph. Pol.  
Ath. C. 2.  
§ 10.

Demosth.  
Olynth. 1.

Athenæ. L. 12.



and fidlers, and yet wherewithal to conciliate the magistrates, demagogues, and even a majority in the tribes.

Demosth.  
Olynth. 3.  
§ 40.

FROM war, peculation, or trade, so many families had acquired inordinate wealth, that private houses were built with a magnificence which outvied the public buildings; and the luxury within being conform to the splendor without, the possessors, if not the favourites of popular caprice, became the objects of invidious regard, and in such light were obnoxious to idle accusations and vexatious demands:—thus to retain clients and partizans not only was necessary to those, who took an active part in public affairs, but to those noted for opulence, and who being thence liable to the imposition of such offices and burthens, or to such wanton crimination, as the envy or avidity of the commonalty might suggest, were to buy their quiet and security by the same conciliatory means, as the ambitious their power, and the amenable their indemnity. Corruption and bribery were thus necessary to all who had ought to give, as well as to those who had ought to ask: under the head of avarice in Theophrastus, even the miser gives his treat, though sordid and suitable to the character.

Isocrat. Orat.  
Περὶ Ἀντιδό-  
σινος

Plut. Vit. Pho-  
cion.

NOTWITHSTANDING this general venality, under particular circumstances, good and great men found their way to the helm of government: when a sense of public calamity, or apprehension of danger superseded the feeling of more partial interests, an Iphicrates, or a Phocion were called forth, and when the occasion was past, an Iphicrates was fined, and a Phocion condemned.

Aristot. Pol.  
1.4. C. 8.

“NOBILITY,” says Aristotle, “*is the offspring of ancient wealth and virtue* ;” it thus must find its way into every constitution of state; whatever popular and levelling principles may oppose

oppose its pretensions, popular partialities will ever countenance the distinction, and pay a deference to the genius of great men, and to the name of ancestry: says the *Demus*, or personified character of the people to the pudding-seller who sets up as a statesman against Cleon, “ *but are you friend of the blood of Har-* “ *modius?* ”

CHAP.  
VII.

Aristoph.  
Equites. Corn.  
v. 786.

MANY young nobles were at times patronized and called into action by the citizens; but intrigue and ambition had too many knowing and vigilant professors, not to obviate their promotion with difficulties and dangers. Those of eloquence and ability suited to maintain the contest, became demagogues, and embroiled the state with new parties: clamours for one, and clamours against another were heard on all sides, and favouritism and faction divided the business of each day: public measures then were administered with views to self-interest, and approved or condemned with views to party: virtue and wisdom were no longer the motives of election, and thence could not be expected in the ministry of those chosen: either from idle partialities, or from venal influence, the power of the people was thus exerted in delegating and in resuming it, whilst a sense of collective dignity and of the principles of their constitution, was lost in obsequiousness to, and in admiration of, the great man, whom themselves had made great;—till caprice or corruption suggested the promotion of a rival; or till the feelings of public calamity were vented in the disgrace and persecution of the quondam favourite; for on such tenure each partook in turn of popular favour, and a temporary elevation. The old compact and union of the democracy was thus broken into pretensions and pleas of individuals, and of their partizans; the people no longer held a collective self-regard; power, glory, and wealth, were no longer the boast and object to each as a citizen for the commonwealth, but to each as a selfish man for self: I read with feeling the words

Xenoph. Pol.  
Ath. C. 2.  
§ 17.

CHAP.

VII.

Demosth.  
Orat. πρὸς  
στρατιώτας.  
§ 34.

Isocrat. Orat.  
Arcopag.

Plut. Vit.  
Phocion.

Platon. & Phylarch.  
Sympos.

Xen. Sympos.

words of Demosthenes, when he observes, “ that in the good  
“ old times [160] of the republic, *it was not said that Miltiades*  
“ *had conquered at Marathon, but the Athenians; nor that The-*  
“ *mistocles had been victorious at Salamis, but the Athenians;*”  
now the language is, “ *that Iphicrates has cut off a detachment,*  
“ *that Timotheus has taken Corcyra, and that Chabrias beat the*  
“ *enemy at Naxos.*” The prevalency of personal attachments  
induced some to enter the lists, but observing the vicissitudes of  
popular favour, many nobles kept aloof from the dangers of the  
assembly: the most active spirits served in the wars; others  
lived in the schools of the philosophers;—but in this luxurious  
and polished capitol, we may believe Isocrates (I think) when he  
says, “ the greater part spent their days at dice, and their nights  
with harlots:” nor was their luxury of an ordinary stamp, if an  
inference is to be drawn from the feast of Phocus, where the  
guests bathed their feet in wines impregnate with spices. In the  
*Symposion* of Xenophon, we have the most curious description  
extant of a convivial meeting of the first men at Athens, written  
about this period, and probably with a view to resemblance of  
the elegant society, that statesman, warrior and philosopher was  
habituated to. The Symposia of the Greek sophists in general  
represent a fictitious meeting, during which the discourse, nar-  
ratory or argumentative, is engaged on some serious topic, some  
question in literature or physiology, or abstract speculation:—in  
*this* we have a brilliant picture of usages and manners. The  
guests set down to a sumptuous entertainment, and put briskly  
round their bottle of *Thasian* wine, whilst successively a con-  
juror, a dancing girl, and Syracusan singers enter to amuse the  
guests, and suggest fund of observation: Philippus, a wit and  
buffoon of distinction (every great city hath at least one such cha-  
racter) during the entertainment taps at the door, and being told  
*to come in*, enters, and places himself at table with the rest, ob-  
serving, “ that he is a comical fellow, and being particularly  
“ prepared

“ prepared to dine out from being very hungry, and having no  
“ dinner at home, he thinks it most comical to get a good din-  
“ ner where he is not expected :” there is some seriousness on  
the intrusion, and the wit is almost out of countenance ; at  
length he makes his party good ; humour and festivity go round ;  
smaller glasses are demanded, that the circulation of bumpers  
may pass more speedily, and with less inconvenience ; the con-  
versation is desultory, and a mixture of the serious and jocular, in  
which each speaker has his share, and in which Socrates, I think,  
shines as much in the character of wit as of philosopher ; his  
dispute with Critobulus for the palm of beauty, and his de-  
scription of his own face and its pretensions, are replete with  
humour and Attic salt : at length wine prevails, all talk toge-  
ther, and to compose the tumult, Socrates strikes up a song.—  
This convivial essay would alone corroborate the reflections in-  
troduced at the opening of this chapter ; it affords a picture,  
which with a few occasional touches might represent a society of  
London or Paris, as well as of Athens.

THOUGH I have expatiated on this treatise of Xenophon, and  
regarded it as authentic grounds of inference, from the assump-  
tion that in delineating the social habits of his friends, the writer  
could not imagine more, nor would state less, elegance and refine-  
ment, than actually characterised the times ;—yet I must caution  
the reader against too readily adopting the general remarks and  
reflections on the people of Athens, in the essays of that writer  
on the constitution and revenues of the republic : Xenophon  
[161] was habituated to foreign manners, and prejudiced in fa-  
vour of Asiatic subserviency, or of Spartan discipline ; he loved  
not the people, and he carped at their freedom under cover of  
censures on their abuse of it ; he was of an aristocratic turn of  
mind, and regarded not a popular state with due impartiality, and  
fair consideration.

Xenoph. Pol.  
Ath. & ejusd.  
Vestigalia.

Cyropædia.  
ejusd. encom.  
Agæfilai, &  
aliter sparsim.

AN estimate of national manners founded on mere anecdote or cotemporary allegations and opinions is ever liable to mistake, or rather must be erroneous; for anecdotes irrelatively cited, are of the most doubtful tendency, and cotemporary opinions even if not perverted by prejudice or partiality, are obscured by the mist, which similitude of life and manners throw over at once the object which is regarded, and him who regards it; or, what is yet more dangerous to truth, the approximation of the broad and capacious scene narrows the view of the beholder to the most glaring, distorted, and gigantic parts, and thus the most striking excentricities of individual humour, are falsely, but with good faith, stated as the characteristics of an age; and thus the strongest exceptions are set forth as the general rule. Of what character and temper the people of Athens collectively, were at this period, may better perhaps be deduced from fact, analogy, and speculation, than from the loose aspersions or mere remark of any writer whatever.

Isocrat. Pa-  
nath.

Plut. Vit. Pe-  
riclis.

THE habitual exercise of power, the number, diversity, and importance of the questions that came under daily cognizance, the eloquent harangues, and laboured arguments of the orators, all conduced to render the commonalty acute and informed; the public recitals of the sophists in the Lycæum from Hesiod, from Homer, and the best writers in prose and verse rendered the people generally erudite; whilst their taste in the fine arts became enlightened and just from the subministration of painting and sculpture to their shows and festivals, and to the ornamenting their porticos and public walks; from the musical contests in the odeum, and from the exhibitions [162] of the theatre. The theatre they most delighted in, and thence the scenic productions were more particularly molded to their habits of language and wit: a presumption of the licentiousness thereof occurs from *that* of their great comic writer, who assuredly wrote in conformity to  
the

the taste of his audience ; but it should be remembered that the prevalency of that audience, which directed all, and which commanded the poet, lay in the numerous and lordly populace ; who, though enlightened and instructed beyond the commonalty of every other state, had yet the proneness to coarse allusions and low humour, which ever characterises a commercial, seafaring, and free nation : when to this we add that the women were not appreciated at Athens, as in a more courtly capitol, and that thus an influence was lost, which ever infuses a delicacy of sentiment, and refinements in behaviour and conversation, we shall not wonder that comedy became gross and libertine : hence we are to account for the obscenity of the plot and language of the *Lyfistrata*, as well as for its indecent satire on the female sex ; hence we are to account for the dirty jests of Xanthias in another comedy, and for the free treatment of Bacchus and the deities, analogous to the monkish interludes of a devil and a saint, which diverted our pious ancestors. The political as well as the vicious temper of the state, is to be deduced from the plays of Aristophanes ; in the “ *clouds*,” the “ *knights*,” and *acharnenses*,” we find the roasting a prætor, a philosopher, or a demagogue, was a favourite diversion : indeed we are told that the voice of the people often pointed out the object of satire for the stage, and that it was safe to indulge in the grossest personalities, so that the aspersions or jest touched not on themselves in their aggregate capacity : this remark of Xenophon is particularly corroborated by the earnestness of the poet in precluding such applications ;

Ecclesiastus  
Lyfistrata, &  
Comœd. Aristoph.

Ranæ. ejusd.  
Comœd.  
scen. 1.

Nubes & equites  
Comœd. &  
aliz. Arist.

Xenoph. Pol.  
Ath. L. 2.  
§ 18.

“ Many [163] there are — I do not mean the state —

“ Remark again — I do not mean the state !”

Acharnenses  
Com. ver. 515.  
Diog. Laert.  
Vit. Demet.

Thus was the comic scene in occasional subserviency to vulgar humour and to popular topics ; yet if we look for a picture of private life we should rather recur to the *self-tormentor* of Menander.

Terent. Heautontimor.  
Athenæus. p.  
651.

CHAP. VII. (though probably written after the subversion of the republic) which is preserved in the translation of Terence; wherein the character of Sostrata marks particularly the subordination of the matrons, whilst a singular compound of philanthropy and cruelty occurs in that of Chremes—*qui nihil humani a se alienum putat*, and who yet orders his wife when pregnant to put the child to death, if it should prove a female. Perhaps the *middle* comedy, of which I think the *Plutus* of Aristophanes is an example, was written for, and suited to the taste of the higher ranks of citizen; whilst the licentiousness and personal satire of Aristophanes, in his other productions, with all his wit, his merriment, and his poetical effusions that decorate even his freest comedies, were objects of disgust as well as dread. His libertinism was, indirectly at least, reprobated by the rhetoricians and philosophers: says Aristotle [164], “the legislature should provide against the introduction of indecent terms and language; licentiousness of speech leads to that of action, and thence youth should be as little accustomed to hear, as to speak it.”

Aristot. Pol.  
L. 7. C. 17.

Plut. Vit. Periclis.

PLUTARCH observes that there ever was in the state, a sort of equivocal junction, like a flaw in a bar of iron which held together the popular and the aristocratic party, and that in the time of Pericles, it broke, and the class of nobility was afterwards entirely separated: the Eupatridai at this period seem to have cultivated distinct sciences, a distinct literature, and a distinct religion: we read scarcely of any man of note who was not a disciple [165] of some particular sophist, from whom he adopted some new and mysterious tenet: hence arose the charges of impiety and heresy against so many great men,—their secret faith exciting successively curiosity, suspicion, and malice.

In conjunction with other reasons arising from the nature of government, perhaps it was from the exclusive care *religionis philosophi-*

*philosophorum* as distinct *à religione vulgi*;—perhaps it was from the care of some holy secret of a more rational religion, that the reserve of the better sort concurred with the practice of the commonalty in excluding the women from mixed society: general discourse might touch on subjects fatal to the pious prejudices of the people; the female mind, warm and suited to the sustinment of necessary superstitions, might be warped from its due course, or overheated run into the extremes of heresy; or in zeal for the established system of adoration, betray the professors of a more spiritual tenet, to the fury and enthusiasm of the assembly. Policy too in a popular government might wisely obviate the interference which was to be apprehended from a promiscuous intercourse, and the ascendancy of the female charms and mind, if generally estimated and respected. Perhaps a further reason (and the true one) may yet remain to account for the little deference paid to the female character in Athens: I allude to the result of extensive commerce and marine: trade and naval employment promote habits of exclusive society among the men; and I think the deficiency of polite assiduity towards the other sex within every nation, may in some degree be measured by its degree of commerce and marine, together with that of political importance, which the constitution of government allows generally to its constituents.

Plato de Legibus. L. 10.

FROM these, and perhaps other causes, seclusion, and in some sort, degradation, put the fair sex at a distance from the other; yet is not the inference to be admitted, of more moderation, chastity, or other female virtues in Athens than grace other cities and later periods: from the comic writers it may be shown, that the women had their fashions, their luxuries, their lovers, their dram-closets, their trinkets, and their paint; but these vanities were restricted to use within the domestic circle, or to extraordinary occasions of celebration and festival. To controul

Ασκιεσται &  
εκκλησιασται  
Κομ. ver. 24.  
&c.  
et al. Aristoph.  
vid. et scholia  
C. 18. L. 1.  
Ælian. var.  
Hist. ed.  
Khuini.

and



## C H A P.

## VII.

γυναικοποιοί  
&  
γυναικονόμοι.  
Potter. Ant.  
Græc.

and observe the manners of the women of Athens, was not left merely to the kind discretion of their inmates, but was ordained by institution, and an office for the purpose appointed. Thus regulated and confined by public censors, or by customs, or by the harshness and vigilance of their husbands and friends, in proportion to the temper and affections of those they lived with, the matrons partook but little of the refinements of the age; and female accomplishment and elegance were the exceptions of those whom the laws and usages of the state regarded as aliens, and left indifferently to a freer course of conduct, and therewith to acquirement of the arts and beauties, which render the sex more excellent and captivating.

Platon. Me-  
nexen. Dial.  
Athenæ. De-  
ipnos. L. 13.

If the matrons of Athens were inferior, the courtezans of Athens were such as elevated that character above its just and proper level of distinction, in any state, wherein a sense of morals hath its due influence: at the time when the famous Aspasia taught rhetoric and philosophy in Athens, there were an hundred and thirty other mistresses of note, who by their attractions of accomplishment and conversation, allured the first citizens to their houses, as the receptacles of knowledge and the liberal arts, as well as of voluptuous gratification: they were celebrated for their learning and wit as much as for their beauty; the apothegms of Gnathæna were preserved with the same care as the statue of Phryné; they became respected as well as admired, and their admirers arrogated a sort of honour and distinction from the merits of their predilection: to have the name inscribed in the list of lovers on the basis of Phrynés statue, was canvassed, as an object of ambition; and it was placed at Delphos between those of Archidamus of Sparta, and Philip of Macedon:—nay, temples and altars were raised to many of the superior courtezans;—says the poet,

“ *Many's*

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“ *Many's the fane, to many a mistress [166] raised,  
But none in Greece are raised to married dames.*”

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Philetærus.  
Poet. ap.  
Athenæ. L. 13.

These distinctions were the consequence of the liberal studies, by which this class of women prepared [167] and suited themselves, to the conversations and entertainment of the ablest and most distinguished characters. When harlots dogmatized, philosophy must needs be in vogue, and philosophers of every degree respected: many of these, the most eminent, were slaves; nor was their servitude a prejudice to their estimation or honours:—Such was Epicurus, and such was Phædon, the friend of Plato.

Macrob. Sat. 1.  
C. 11.

VIEWING the society of Athens in some lights, virtue, wisdom, and learning, seem to constitute the only distinctions; viewing it in others, avarice and vice bear unqualified sway; complicating the general scene, we behold the picture of Parrhasius, who, in framing his personification of the Athenian assembly,—“ *voluit varium, iracundum, injurium, inconstantem, eundem* “ *exorabilem, clementem, misericordem, excelsum, gloriosum, humilem,* “ *fugacem, et omnia pariter ostendere.*”—Such particularities as seemed necessary to elucidate this picture, and, in some instances, to extend its subject, and heighten its colour, I have cursorily adduced; a further detail of miscellaneous customs would be more prolix and digressive, than suits the tenor of this treatise.

Plin. Hist. Nat.  
L. 35. C. 100.

HAVING in a previous chapter, on the subject of manners, seized such station of enquiry, as suited to the anticipating scenes of conquest and glory; I have taken this station, as opening to the prospect of ruin and decline.

FROM the grounds of separation between the nobles and commonalty, are to be traced jealousies, dissensions, and tumult: from  
8 the

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the grounds of their political connection, are to be viewed intrigues, faction, and servility on the one side; and on the other turbulency, rapaciousness, and caprice, tending often to elevate the worst men, through the worst means:—from the grounds of democratic licentiousness and venality, are to be observed the further result of the several parties and of their influence, closing in a corrupt and unstable administration of government: from the general regard to wealth as the source of voluptuous gratification, are to be descried at once avidity and indolence, oppressive in sovereignty, and neglectful of the means to secure and to confirm it: and from the loose, wanton, and selfish application of the resources of the state, are to be anticipated,—alienation of the dependancies of the republic, its impoverishment, its imbecility, and its surrender of internal liberty with foreign dominion.—Lastly, (and it is the brightest scene before us!) from the arts and knowledge of this depraved, but enlightened and illustrious people, the suggestion occurs, that their glories were to outlive their empire, and even their republic; and Athens long famed for liberty, commerce, and the empire of the seas,—be thereafter not less famous as *a school to all nations for the liberal arts, eloquence, and philosophy!*

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OF THE TREATMENT OF DEPENDANCIES OF EMPIRE—OF THE  
SOCIAL WAR—OF THE INDEPENDANCY IN CONSEQUENCE  
THEREOF ATTAINED BY CHIOS, COS, RHODES, AND OTHER  
TRIBUTARIES.

THE people of Athens, from the inactivity of the neighbouring states, drew a false conclusion, favourable at once to their love of ease, and to their exercise of power: as the moment of ebriety gives a transitory force, and even to the man worn out by vicious gratifications, affords a sensation of vigour not much dissimilar to that of a robust and heathful constitution, or if discriminate, yet differing only in a show of superior heat and impetuosity; so the Athenians inflated with luxurious and unmolested enjoyment, assumed the haughty deportment of high and invincible authority; and no longer curbed by apprehensions of a foreign foe, they grew wanton in tyranny, and treated their dependant islands and provinces with such indignity and oppression, as drove them to a defiance, and to a trial of that force which had so harshly been exercised to their prejudice whilst in passive submission: under such circumstances of disaffection, an occasion is seldom wanting to the more open avowal of wrongs, of the right to redress, and of the means to enforce.

AMPHIPOLIS was one of those cities which had taken advantage, first of the victories of Lysander, and then of the edict of the Persian king, to withdraw from its dependancy on the Athenians: the recovery of their sovereignty over this city was a prime object of their ambition, and the enterprize when undertaken,

Plut. Vit.  
Phocion.

taken, involved the republic in a general war with its other ancient dependancies; who took this opportunity of associating with Amphipolis, in order to attain by force of arms, some share of commerce and enfranchisement; which the unsocial pride and monopolizing spirit of the Athenians so unjustly, and with such ill policy too, withheld from those who were the immediate agents of their own opulence and power;—treating their repeated petitions with contempt, answering their remonstrances with menace.

THE detail of grievances, urged by the disaffected members of the state was the result, partly of the vitiated government of the sovereign republic, and partly originated in the system of administration, which almost every commercial and naval power has adopted in regard to the dependancies of its dominion, or from conquest, or from colonization. Isocrates, on the occasion of these rebellions, wrote his famous oration, in which he advised his countrymen not only to a surrender of the matter in contest with the islands; but to forego in future all views to the empire of the seas, as exposing them to frequent wars and dangers, and not less as exposing them to a course of corruption [168], affecting the principles of their constitution and government: this part of his argument Aristides wrote in answer to; and, as Isocrates allowed the source of corruption to have been the source of power and wealth, he supplied Aristides, and what was of more importance, he supplied the people with an argument, which no speculative reasoning was calculated to controvert and overturn: nor could the topic of emancipation be palatable, but from the necessity of the times; that of a more conciliatory treatment in respect to subordinate islands and provinces, is well worthy attention; as the good sense and sound policy of the advice, equally with its philanthropy, are urged in terms applicable to every state under like predicament of supremacy.

THE Athenians in common with other heads of dominion, fought to sustain their power, by administering the government, by retaining the ultimate cognizance of civil causes, and by controuling the trade, and by garrisoning the fortresses in the several districts of their empire: they fought to make that power profitable from a monopoly of commerce, from exactions of internal revenue, and from supplies of shipping, and from levies for their marine and armies.—Such are general subjects of discontent, and often have occasioned intestine commotion, and bloody wars within the circle of every extensive kingdom: but when a perversion, or extraordinary enlargement of the powers of exaction and controul hath taken root in the soil of corruption and tyranny; and therefrom nourished itself to such vicious magnitude of head, shedding around the poisons gathered from its overheated stock, that private property, public rights, and every just claim of the man and of the citizen deaden beneath its covert; —that in such case, all should lay the axe to its root, and its subversion be urged at every hazard, is a certain consequence: and particularly in application to a free state, wherein the liberty and security of the subject display a contrast, which the ordinary feelings of men will not long permit them to suffer, merely because born without the pale of the supreme and privileged district: they will naturally then seek to constitute a like district for themselves.

IN the detail of oppressions which marked Athenian government, I shall closely adhere to the facts cited, or implied by observation, of the Grecian historians and orators; and this I premise, that every application may have its full force, as arising from the grounds of history, nor be scouted as the suggestion of fancy subservient to forced allusion; — I seek it not, and I wish that circumstances had never occurred to render it obvious!

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Isocrat. Paneg.  
Aristot. Pol.  
L. 5. C. 7.

Xenoph. Πολ.  
Αθην. C. 1.  
§ 16. & 17.

Xenoph. περί  
προσόδων. C. 2.  
§ 3. & C. 1.  
§ 1.

Isocrat. Orat.  
περί εισηγίας.

Demost. Orat.  
περί συνταξιας.  
P. 97. ed. Benet.

Xen. Πολ.  
Αθην. C. 1.  
§ 14.

Xen. Πολ.  
Αθην. C. 1.  
§ 15.

Ibid. & § 16,  
& 17.

Ejusd. C. 3.  
§ 1.

IN the administration of the dependancies of Athens, a popular or democratic constitution was adopted, similar in appearance to that of the sovereign state, but it had only the form and show of such constitution: Athens estimated the funds, and apportioned the tribute of each province, and further imposed a tax of one per cent. on its exports; and as it called each question and cause of importance before its *own assembly*, the legislation must necessarily have followed and been modelled to its own: further, the province was controuled by a garrison, and that of the worst sort, namely, of mercenaries from Lydia, Phrygia, and Syria, who, as mere soldiers of fortune, were probably little considerate of how much they vexed, pillaged, and alienated the affections of the people; and that very people was to pay those who robbed and insulted them. The Athenian officers and magistrates who were delegated to command, joined in the wanton exercise of authority and depredation; on which, observes Demosthenes, "*the gain was their own, the odium* [169], *was the republic's.*" Nor was the responsibility an object of dread, whilst the Athenians in disregard of the merits of each plea, ever sided with those who pushed their power to its extremest verge: in this their partiality was not confined to their own citizens; the men of distinction from family and opulence in each island, looked to success in each private cause, proportionally as they were noted for a dereliction of the interests of their countrymen, and for subserviency to the rapaciousness of the sovereign people; who collectively were guilty of successive exorbitancy and misapplication in exacting new imports, and in distributing the monies individually within their own body, under the name of fees for attendance on public affairs, or on private causes. Thence too occurred a frequency of litigation, and a delay of justice; every dispute was sent home from the prætors in each province, and the process of every dispute was spun out (often during a whole year) to the distress and ruin of the parties: justice was only to be

be expedited by bribes ; as if it were in compensation for the loss in detail, arising from the premature closing of the judicial proceedings.

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Ejus. C. 3. §3.

SUCH were the grievances from which the tributaries of Athens sought redress : the great statesman Demosthenes and the good old rhetor Isocrates equally pleaded for pacific measures, and the rectifying these abuses without recurrence to the force of arms : says the former, “ it is by a communion of benefits, and not by “ garrisons that dependancies of empire are preserved and turned “ to account :” the other further insists that from a conciliatory demeanor, “ one advantage [170] above all will accrue, we “ shall have the alliance of all not enforced but voluntary” : but the thesis of Xenophon seems the ground-work of all observations on this head ; “ nothing is wanted,” he observes, “ to the rendering a commercial state peaceful and flourishing but a system “ of legislation adopted and pursued on principles of equality, “ philanthropy and general protection.” Indeed distant dependancies can never essentially serve a mother-country or sovereign state, unless good-will, as well individual as national, founded in the sense of mutual interests and reciprocal benefit is the cement of the union ; *Les forces particulieres ne peuvent se reunir, sans que toutes les volontés se reunissent.* Without such incentives to intercourse as arise from equal advantage, equal participation of rights, and from a confidence in the sovereign state, as extending equally its care to the prosperity as well as security of all, the dependancies will never enrich the parent-country in times of peace, by the genuine and salutary tribute of a free and zealous commerce ; nor in times of war and distress, add to its force by the vigorous assistance of free subsidy and voluntary levies :—the members of empire will, in the one case, be the vexatious source of scanty and unprofitable revenue, and in the other case an oppressive weight of ostensible defence or annoyance

Demost. Orat.  
περί συμμαχίας.  
p. 97.

Isocrat. orat.  
περί ειρήνης.

Xenoph. Πολ.  
Aθήν. C. 1.

l'Esprit des  
Loix. L. 1.  
C. 3.



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ance which will distress, rather than assist the sovereignty;—as the warrior who bears twenty weapons which he cannot wield, is weakened by the weight and incumbrance, and yet cannot yield them up, lest he arm his enemy; and thus his apparent force is his real weakness.

IN every age the considerate statesman seems to have admitted the force of the above observations, but they rarely have been admitted in practice, at the crisis when their expediency might have had effect. The passions of domination, of avarice, and of pride, have too often given up the ear of a people to the voice of an interested minister; and the means of office, which foreign controul, and above all, which the asserting that controul put in his hands, suffice to the procuring him greedy partizans and agents, who become zealous abettors of his views,—views which avarice, ambition, and the securing his power, first by exciting and then by feeding the prejudices of the people, and from the patronage of oppressive government, and lastly from the patronage of war, have suggested to him. Chares (whose manners and conduct have been alluded to in a previous chapter) and who was *an orator* as well as officer, had present influence in the Athenian assembly: moderation and temper were thence scouted, and all ideas of concession to the islands treated as pusillanimous, inexpedient, and unnecessary. The arrogance and intractability of one party engaged Athens in this unprofitable war;—perhaps the speeches of Isocrates and Demosthenes might have served to inspirit the colonies, sow divisions at home, and render the cause desperate.

Plut. Vit.  
Phocion.

Isocrat. orat.  
πρὸς ἑλληνας.  
Demost. Orat.  
πρὸς κορινθίους.

Diodor. Sic.  
L. 16.

CHIOS, Cos, Rhodes, and successively Byzantium and other cities conspired to humble the arrogance and prescribe some limits to the jurisdiction of the sovereign republic: Chares went forth at the head of an army to immediately crush this rebellion

rebellion, and punish the authors of revolt: but such wars are not so immediately concluded, wherein the subject successively exasperates, wherein the minds of men are so wholly engaged, wherein the attack is often careless, because presumptuous, wherein defence is ever obstinate, because resentment of the past and dread of the future, are equally preclusive of submission, and wherein the haughty spirit of the aggressors is equally preclusive of terms. An Athenian fleet sent out under Chabrias was beaten off Chios, and Chabrias killed: the confederates then pursued an active course of hostilities, interrupted the Athenian commerce at sea, and laid waste the islands of Imbros, Lemnos, and Samos. It was now found that this *social war* was of serious moment, and reinforcements were successively dispatched to the Athenian fleets and armies; old generals and admirals were called into service; in the list of commanders on the Hellespont, we read the names of Iphicrates and Timotheus. The Athenian fleet on that station consisted of an hundred and twenty sail, that of the confederates of an hundred sail; they were within view, when a storm arose, and from the advice of Iphicrates and Timotheus, the order for engagement being thence deferred, the fleets separated in the night, and met no more. Chares accused thereon his comrades in command, "from whose timidity (he said) the occasion was lost of closing the war at a single blow:"—the assumption of victory cost but little; Iphicrates and Timotheus were fined and banished, because the war was not closed at this fortunate opportunity of destroying a fleet of nearly equal force, and on equal terms of engagement in the fury of a tempest!—Iphicrates might have said, and perhaps did say, "that not only the sovereignty of the republic, but its very power, its resources, its existence, were at stake with its whole naval force, and that no friend to his country was warranted in the choice of so deep a game." Chares having thus disengaged himself at

Corn. Nep.  
Vit. Chabrias.  
Diodor. Sic.  
L. 16.

Diodor. S.  
L. 16.

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once from the competition, and from the observance of his rivals, meditated some enterprize suited to ingratiate him with the assembly; and an occasion offered in the revolt of the rich satrap Artabazus from the king of Persia, to whom Chares tendered the assistance of his fleet, on condition of receiving a very large sum of money: this he in part remitted to Athens; Chares knew the temper of his countrymen; the Athenians received the prize with joy and approbation, and sanctioned the conduct of Chares with a vote of thanks. Soon however the consequences of the conduct of Chares, and of the rapacious concurrence of the people brought with them regret and displeasure, and the vote of thanks was erased, and Chares fled to Sigæum. The Persian king irritated by the support given to Artabazus, was said to be preparing a fleet of three hundred sail to invest the Piræus: the menace of invading Attica became doubly formidable, from its being at variance with the better, namely, with the naval part of its common tributaries: the associates too would have an ally in the great king; the sentiment that to give much, was better than to hazard all prevailed with the assembly thus frightened rather than persuaded into concessions of enfranchisement and other advantages to the colonies and islands.—Thus ended the social war after three years fruitless bloodshed and expence: its effect was not merely the acquirement of unprecedented rights and privileges on the part of those who instituted, or who entered into the contest; the supremacy of Athens was weakened in every quarter by the example; but now on any terms, it became necessary to pacify the power [171] of Persia, by a ratification of the famous treaty of Antalcidas, an article in which (it may be remembered) guaranteed the emancipation of the Greek cities and islands from the controul of the greater republics. Perhaps the further price of this peace, was the detachment sent under Phocion to assist the arms of Persia in Cyprus.

Plut. Vit.  
Phocion.

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IT is a misfortune ever attending political contests of the sort abovementioned, that those who begin well, end ill ; they forego the reasonable grounds they sat out upon, and enlarge on their plan till it becomes too extensive for their management and means, or they continue building on a narrow foundation, till they are overwhelmed in the ruins of an over weighty superstructure : had Chios, Cos, and Rhodes adhered to the spirit of their first requisition for the redress of grievances, they might long have continued *the free appendages of a free state* : not contented with freedom, they sought and established their independency on the distresses of the sovereign republic ; they then were sometime torn and distracted with factions of oligarchy and democracy, in framing new and speculative constitutions of government ; and shortly after were swallowed up in the dominion of *their great ally*, and submitted to the despotism of a Persian satrap. The Rhodians then applied to Athens to deliver them from the oppressive government of Mausolus : Athens might have protected and preserved their liberty, but could not recover it for them : Demosthenes advised his countrymen to an undertaking evidently above their strength.

Demost. Orat.  
πρὸς Εὐρυπύκτου.  
Ejusd. Orat.  
πρὸς εὐρυπύκτου.  
Ροδίων.

Ejusd. orat.  
πρὸς Εὐρυπύκτου.  
sub. fin.

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## CHAP. IX.

OF PHILIP OF MACEDON—REMISS CONDUCT OF THE ATHENIANS IN OBVIATING THE ENTERPRIZES OF THAT KING—TEMPER OF THE TIMES DEDUCED FROM THE ORATIONS OF DEMOSTHENES.

THE Athenians concluded the social war on terms so unqualified with any circumstance of advantage, retribution, or even of quiet to themselves, that the motives to so hasty and general concessions must have been many and forcible: they had apprehensions of what the Persian *might* do; they had yet greater apprehensions of what the Macedonian *was* doing. The Athenians were a free and popular state, and they suddenly perceived that they had to act with, or to counteract an enterprising and despotic king, and him too in their vicinity: a despotic king in the neighbourhood of the territories of a republic is ever an object of dread; and such a king as Philip of Macedon, had he not his virtues, had he only the vices which Demosthenes objects to him, was more an object of dread than any other king: allowing a full force to the most outrageous and satirical allegations in that orator's Philippics and other harangues, or taking the satire only; it appears, "that Philip was  
 " bountiful to profuseness; that he loved company, and was ever  
 " conciliating in company; that he could adapt his conversation  
 " to every society,—to the statesman, the wit, the philosopher,  
 " the buffoon; that he scanned each character, and that his own  
 " was yet to be unfolded; that none knew his secrets, and that  
 " he knew the secrets of every one; that he was cautious in  
 " design, and bold and sudden in enterprize; that he was ever  
 " deceiving,

Demosth.  
Orat.  
Olynth. et  
Philippic.  
sparsum et  
ejuld. *ωις*  
*αγαπησι-*  
*βνας.*

Diodor. Sic.  
L. 17. sub.  
fin.

“ deceiving, and yet had the art to ensure confidence ; that he  
 “ bought whom he could, and forced whom he could not buy ;  
 “ that in a word he was *a politician* and a *general*.”

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THE designs of Philip were for some time conducted with the most wary policy, and covered with every art of intrigue and negotiation ; but they were now sufficiently opening to view, for even the blindest to have some glimmering of the scope to which they directed, and some apprehension of the ruin that must ensue to the general authority, and even liberties of the great Grecian republics. Athens more particularly had reason to take alarm ; some of the few reliëts of her once powerful empire were scattered on the confines of Macedon, and its king's first object was the seizure of these several frontiers of his dominion, to secure as well as to enlarge his own territories, previous to an avowal of his more ambitious purposes : unfortunately it *might* have turned out for him that so many of these barrier towns were appendant to the sovereignty of Athens ; “ unfortunately, “ (says Demosthenes) for had that degenerate state, instead of “ seeking arguments for its lascivious indolence, been maturely “ watchful over the motions of Philip ; awakened by his attack on their own particular rights had it interposed, and “ given a *timely* support to its cities ; or *at first* had it accepted “ the proffered alliance of Olynthus, this plotting monarch “ checked on his onset, had not thenceforward presumed to “ meditate his extensive schemes of conquest and command.” The Athenians amused and lulled into a fond security by Philip, and soothed by his protestations at the very time he was mutilating their empire, and undermining their dearest interests, are a curious instance of, in how short a time, a vicious luxury can debase the understanding, as well as spirit of a brave and enlightened people !

Demosth.  
 φιλιστ. δ.  
 Diod. Sic.  
 L. 16.

Demost. Orat.  
 Olynth. α.

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Demosth.  
Olynth. B.

Diodor. Sic.  
L. 16.

Ibid.

Φιλιστ. γ. De-  
most. Orat.  
περὶ τῆς ἐν  
Χερσονήσῳ.  
Diodorus ut  
supra.

IT hath been previously observed, that Amphipolis [172] was one of those cities which since the Peloponnesian war had refused to recognize the power of the Athenians, and that in asserting their pretensions to it, they had incurred the social war and all its fatal consequences : with the idea of repossessing this great city, Philip now soothed and cajoled the people of Athens ; he promised to conquer, and exchange it with them for Pydna, and they rejected the alliance of the Olynthians ; himself then entered into compact with the Olynthians, and promised to them too, Pydna and Potidæa ; he invested, and took those towns, gave up Pydna to the Olynthians, and retained Potidæa for himself : the latter city had an Athenian garrison, which Philip dismissed with all the honours of war, and some how (for it appears not how) found means yet to reconcile the people of Athens to his conduct :—finally, he invested Amphipolis, and had the address to persuade the people, or rather they had the stupidity to be persuaded, that the expences and dangers of this siege, were incurred merely on their account, and that the fruits of its success were to be theirs : his success was almost immediate ; he garrisoned Amphipolis with Macedonians, and yet again found means to conciliate the assembly of Athens ; perhaps those means were the gold mines of Crenidæ, which about the same time fell into his hands, and which ever after yielded him annually a thousand talents. His attack at length on the Chersonese admitted not of prevarication ; and Chares with a small force was sent to oppose his progress in those parts ; Cerfobleptes, the rightful sovereign, had given up his pretensions thereto in favour of Athens ; but Cardia, its capitol, hoisted on its citadel the ensigns of Philip, who having worsted Argæus, his competitor for the throne of Macedon, and having been victorious in Illyria, in Thessaly, and in Thrace, doubted not with this footing-place in the Chersonese of soon mastering too the rest of that peninsula.

METHONE

METHONE was besieged by this enterprizing and politic warriour ; Athens debated, and voted assistance ; the time spent in debate should have been the hour of action ; the assistance came, but it came too late.

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Ibid. et  
Ολυθ. β.

PAGASÆ was invested ; again Athens voted succour ; and again from its dilatory progress, that succour was fruitless.

AN account arrived that Heræum, the key to the city of Byzantium, whence their commercial riches, whence their very necessities and provisions flowed, was attacked and reduced to the last extremity ; the Athenians in the utmost alarm, voted subsidy, ordered levies, and—on the news of Philip's falling sick, countermanded those subsidies and those levies, and fell back into their pristine lethargy.

Demost. Orat.  
Ολυθ. γ. § 1.

HOWEVER flattering the munificence of Philip had been to the Olynthians, that people could not without apprehension, behold this growing power, step by step encircling their whole territory ; their immunities seemed dependant on his generosity ; their very city existing but from mere sufferance : it was deemed fitting in time to secure some potent and interested ally to obviate the danger, which the now conspicuous ambition of their encroaching neighbour seemed to warn them of the approach of : Philip apprized of their policy anticipated the attack by a declaration, “ that he would have Olynthus, or lose Macedon : ”—to Athens this people then a second time sent an embassy to proffer their friendship, to plead their common interests, and rouse the people to a just sense of their own losses and future danger : “ well (said Demosthenes) there is no further excuse for procrastinating the public weal ; long, long have ye murmured, “ Oh that the Olynthians were but detached from Philip ! the “ very event hath occurred ; nay, even exceeded your warmest “ wishes ;

Demost.  
Ολυθ. α.

Ejusd.  
Φιλιστ. γ.

Paris ed. 1570  
Ολυθ. α. § 9.



CHAP.  
IX.Olynth. α.  
§ 35.

“ wishes ; for had they taken up arms at our instigation, they  
 “ would have been (they themselves know it) they would have  
 “ been but wavering allies ; but since it is inveteracy rooted in  
 “ their own dissatisfactions which engages them in this war,  
 “ the compact with us will be the more firm, as strengthened  
 “ by their own private sufferings or apprehensions.—If he shall  
 “ meet with uninterrupted success, what is to prevent his lead-  
 “ ing his forces into Greece ? the Thebans ! pardon the seve-  
 “ rity of the thought, *they* will rather assist him : but the  
 “ Phocians ! a nation, which for its security, its very existence,  
 “ is dependant on your friendship and protection. Some other  
 “ alliance ! or perhaps he will not make the attempt ! Oh most  
 “ absurd, that the intention, which even in incertitude he ma-  
 “ nifests, in power he should not execute !”

Ejuid. § 78. 19.

To alarm the Athenians into an early and expeditious vigilance,  
 with what force doth the orator follow the velocity of their en-  
 mies career ? “ consider, O Athenians, from what an humble  
 “ and insignificant state Philip hath arisen to this pitch of  
 “ greatness ! it was first seizing Amphipolis, afterwards Potidæa  
 “ and Methoné ; then turning to Thessaly he over-ran the dis-  
 “ tricts of Phera, of Pagasæ and Magnesia ; thence rushing into  
 “ Thrace, he subverted some, he exalted other states ; he fell  
 “ sick ; scarcely convalescent, he left not his sword a moment  
 “ to rust in cloth, but wielded it against the Olynthians : I have  
 “ not mentioned his expeditions against the Illyrians, the  
 “ Pæonians and Arymbæ ; and indeed, where hath he not  
 “ essayed !”

Justin. L. 3.  
C. 3.  
Diodor. Sic.  
L. 16.  
Plut. Vit.  
Phocion.

THIS speech had weight with the assembly, and they imme-  
 diately determined on furnishing aid to the Olynthians ; which,  
 according to the usual fate of their decrees, was sent too late for  
 its purpose, and Philip got possession of the town and levelled  
 its

its walls with the ground : the military levies, however, were not without their use ; they served to keep up a balance in Eubæa, whither Philip's intrigues had already penetrated ; and they retarded the Macedonians entrance into Greece, giving him a timely repulse at the streights of Thermopylæ : as Demosthenes was the only statesman, Phocion seems to have been the only general, who in these times had the virtue and the ability to render his country real service ; the eloquence of the one raised armies for the other ; and to their joint account may be laid the preservation of Eubæa, as well as the relief of Perinthus and Byzantium, and the few checks which Philip received on the Hellespont.

I MEAN not in the quotations which I may adduce from the orations of Demosthenes, to give a just idea of the spirit and energy of his eloquence, or of the art and cautious skill, with which he curbs or directs its seemingly wild and impetuous course ; like an Alexander making docile his fiery Bucephalus : the rhetoric of Demosthenes, no more than the poetry of Pindar, is to be known from modern translation ; but the present temper of the people, whose genius and history I investigate, are nowhere so strongly marked, as in the speeches of this orator, and to a further elucidation of this subject, I employ the subsequent extracts.

THE rich and poorer men of the state may be supposed combating with all the virulence of arrogance and envy ; “ I think,” says Demosthenes, “ it may be of some service to the community, to plead the cause of the wealthier against the obloquy of the meaner denizens, and reciprocally that of the poorer against the rich, and explain away these idle enmities :” we find the opulent citizens avariciously withholding the dues of the commonwealth : “ at a time when the annual tributes of the state

οὐκ ἔστιν.  
§ 53.

Εἰσφ. § 54.

C H A P.

IX.

vid. & Orat.  
Isocrat.  
αἰεὶ ἀνιδουσι.

Ibid. Demost.

“ state amounted but to one hundred and thirty talents, no one  
 “ whose income was adequate to the charge, declined the ex-  
 “ pence of trierarch [173]; the vessels were properly fitted out;  
 “ the monies paid in; every office discharged: enriched as is  
 “ now the republic, shall we sit blaming and bickering at one  
 “ another, and in our very quarrels seek and plead excuse for  
 “ procrastinating our payments and neglecting our duty?” we  
 then behold the populace rapacious, and enflamed against the  
 rich; “ the ballance of the commonwealth,” continues the  
 orator, “ is to be justly and equally held; as the wealthier  
 “ part of the people contribute much and hazard most, in the  
 “ exigencies of the state, so are they entitled under its shelter to  
 “ unmolested possession of their residue; and as what justly may  
 “ be demanded by the community, they have no right to re-  
 “ tain; so on their remaining property none have a right to  
 “ trespass.”

Orat. αἰεὶ-  
συνεξέτω.  
§ 36.

How evident is the degradation of the commonweath! when we  
 hear that, “ neither to Menon the Pharsalian, who had given a  
 “ voluntary subsidy to the state of twelve talents, and had joined  
 “ their army with two hundred horsemen; nor even to Perdiccas  
 “ the king of Macedon who aided to destroy the Persians at  
 “ Platæa, in reward for such generous service did our ancestors  
 “ decree the full rights of citizenship; but deemed *them* suffi-  
 “ ciently honoured, when admitted to a mere freedom of their  
 “ city: the name of their then virtuous and enobled country,  
 “ they thought a gift transcending the most exalted merits or ser-  
 “ vices! but *now*, O Athenians, we make citizens of the most  
 “ abject and profligate, of very slaves born in servitude, of all  
 “ who can buy our franchisement, put up to sale, like a mere and  
 “ common vendible:” and in another oration, “ from the very  
 “ meanest stocks have suddenly arisen men who eclipse our most  
 “ renowned and ancient families; they have their houses that tower

Ολυμπ. γ.  
§ 40. 1. 2.

“ above

“ above our public edifices, and the more ruinous the condi-  
 “ tion of the republic, the more flourishing seems theirs!  
 “ Whence comes all this? whence the difference between these  
 “ times and those of yore? When the citizens in person boldly  
 “ went forth to war, they had a consequence which rendered  
 “ them lords over their own magistracies; what properly *should*  
 “ be, *was* under their controul, and the candidates received all  
 “ office, emolument, and honours at their hand and option:  
 “ *now* the magistrates, independant masters of your wealth and  
 “ power, transact all business as their own; and ye an enervate  
 “ people—crouch to them like servants for your pay, and thank  
 “ them, if they allow ye (what is your own) a paltry stipend,  
 “ wherewith to bask it in the theatre!” How pathetically doth  
 the speaker then remark a declension of the grandeur of Athens  
 concomitant with the degradation its citizens! “ a noble harbour,  
 “ temples, edifices, every ornament that could ennoble this city  
 “ we have, bequeathed to us by our ancestors, and of a magni-  
 “ ficence which posterity hath by no means rivalled: look  
 “ yonder at that naval key, that portico, and the structures a-  
 “ round ye! but *then* the private houses of the most illustrious  
 “ citizens corresponded with the principle of equality which is  
 “ the boast of our constitution; let any one find out the house of  
 “ Themistocles, of Cimon, of Aristides, or of Miltiades;—it is  
 “ not a better one than his neighbour’s: *now*, we think it enough  
 “ to mend a road, direct a water spout, incrust a wall, or to ef-  
 “ fect some equally-trivial work;—but from the public pillage,  
 “ many have built them houses which overtop our noblest  
 “ temples.”

CHAP.

IX.

Ολυνθ. γ.  
§ 40. 1. 2.

Orat. περί συν-  
ταξίων, § 46.

THE reader will naturally suppose, that a luxurious people  
 may be proud, though indolent; and talk highly, though act  
 meanly:—“ Whenever (says Demosthenes) your debates com-  
 “ prize those particulars wherein Philip hath infringed his en-

L 1

“ gagements,

C H A P. " gagements, I observe every oration to appear candid and equitable, every speaker to seem sagacious and pertinent, in proportion to his allegations and rancour against Philip; yet no consequent action, no efficacy marking the propriety of such discourse." [174]

IX.  
φιλιππ. β. § 1.

THE few spirited decrees of the assembly, how tardy in execution! (says our orator) "if you hear Philip is in the Chersonese, you consider, and send a reinforcement to the Chersonese;—is he at Pylæ? why then the army is to be sent to Pylæ; or any where else? this way, or that way ye are after him, following him as if ye were his mercenaries rather than his enemy." "Philip is fallen sick! or Philip is dead!" "It would signify not, your present idleness and vices would soon raise another Philip; for it is not from his own intrinsic strength and means, but from your supineness that this man is become so great."

φιλιππ. α. § 55.  
Ejusd. Orat. § 16.

THOSE who act not when they ought, will of course envy the success and cry down the merit of those whose vigorous and timely exertion brings shame on their indolence: this observation is verified by the implications contained in the oration defending Diopithes, who had not only protected the Chersonese, but retaliated on the countries belonging to Philip in Thrace, and bordering the Hellespont: "We neither contribute to the public exigencies, nor enter on military service, nor even abstain from diverting to improper uses the funds of the republic; but we can abstain from affording due subsidies to Diopithes, from the praise which his diligence hath merited; we can cavil at his exploits and enviously blame his past, or idly speculate on his future conduct."

περι των εν Χερσονησσω. § 26.

LIEB:

LIKE an over-heated drunkard, the state was vainglorious and conceited, and to humiliate and bring the people to a proper sense of their perilous situation, we observe this sage counsellor in various passages, and particularly in the first Olynthiac above cited, raising their fears and abasing their arrogance; but the vitiated temper of the people was, as might be pre-conceived, subject to vicissitudes of terror and despondency; we find the orator in his second Olynthiac, flattering and consoling them, depreciating every resource of Macedon, and every great quality of its king: of all past virtues, their representative *pride* was the only relict to which he could make an effectual appeal; his speeches thence teem with references to the exploits of their ancestry, and with remembrance of their former empire and spirit: “ Philip (says he) will never be satisfied with subduing, he must destroy, he must subvert the very foundations of this city; for he knows that ye would not endure a state of servitude; or if ye would, that ye could not; for ye have ever been accustomed to command.” The shame too which the Athenians will incur throughout Greece by a dereliction of the general interests together with their own, is painted in the most animated colours: nor this, nor every other argument, nor the remonstrances he made use of, nor even a recapitulation of the justice of his past reasoning and predictions, could recover the assembly from its blindness, its indolence, its avarice, and its general depravity.

CHAP.

IX.

Ολυνθ. κ.

φιλιππ: γ.  
&c. sparsim.

περὶ τῶν ἐν  
Χερρονήσῳ.  
§ 81.

Ejusd. Orat.  
§ 62.

περὶ Εὐρητης.  
§ 5. et seq.

THE above translations from Demosthenes I have adduced to further prepare the reader, for the subversion of all that has rendered the history of this republic so interesting to our notice; its extensive power and internal constitution: from the reproofs of their sage and good adviser, discovering the ruinous habits and temper of this great corrupted nation; with pride to deprecate shame, and without virtue to avoid it; often elated without rea-

CHAP. IX. son, and despondent with as little cause; luxurious and magnificent in their private, and mean in their public capacity; at variance for trifles with one another, and passively submitting to every foreign transgression; bold in their decrees, and dilatory in action; vainly glorious of the fame of their ancestry, and neglectful of their own; and envious even of the virtue that served them, as affording too striking a contrast with their own demerits.

## C H A P. X.

C H A P.

X.

OF CERTAIN DUTIES OF A CITIZEN—OF THE HOLY WAR  
—OF THE TEMPORIZING CONDUCT OF THE ATHENIANS  
—RESULT THEREOF—THE BATTLE OF CHÆRONEA, AND  
SUPREMACY OF PHILIP OF MACEDON.

IN a private situation, an ignorance, in some measure, of the schemes and machinations employed by men to gratify their appetites at the expence of their fellow-creatures, is assuredly preferable to an *over-accurate* investigation of human morals; a too near acquaintance with which, can serve but to cloud the season of society, and alloy the chearfulness of hospitality with mental reservation: in the narrow circle, deceit may have too little opportunity or too little effect, for the evil consequences thereof to balance the evil consequences of continually preparing against them,—the loss of internal peace of mind, and of good-will towards man. As far then as relates to the more partial intercourse of society, it is not only allowable but praiseworthy, for an individual not to embitter his mind by a too nice research into the motives of human words and actions; which, as it convinces him of the depravity of others, is likely to render him too somewhat depraved; or, at best, to depreciate, with the merits of his associates, the happiness of his life.

THUS as a moral being he may be permitted, I think, in a certain degree, to forego enquiry into the craftyhood and wiles around him; but as a being, making part of a state or civil society, he should be well apprized of the snares that lay in wait for



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for him *as such*: his own independant welfare and peace, which in the prior case bore some weight of argument, become of little consideration: and he is under indispensable obligation, to acquire all such knowledge as may be within his reach, and as may be necessary to the making him a good and serviceable citizen: The characters of public men it is his duty to scan freely, and with all such helps as thought, experience, and the discriminating sense of others too, may furnish him with, to obviate the general evils, which a share of blindness or error on his part might conduce to the admission of. At all times, and particularly at times, when his property is secure, and his person safe, he should be taught to guard against those who disseminate abstract notions, the adoption of which cannot make his property more secure, or his person more safe and free; and if his rights and immunities as a citizen, appear from plain fact, and to plain understanding invaded or infringed, still let him not follow those who seek unknown remedies in the contingencies of revolution, but let him join with those of moderate temper, and of definite purpose, and whose past demeanor is consistent with the part of public virtue they assume: when the pretensions of regard to national freedom and rights transcend the character of him who pretends to it, and even pass the natural feelings of men,—let him hesitate, ere he lists under one who thus overacts his part; in the assertor of freedom, let him sift out the minister of faction; let him read and think of how many tyrants have gained a first footing on the necks of the people by bellowing for liberty! how many have clamoured for freedom, and overturned the freest of constitutions! how often patriotism hath been but a name! When religion is the plea, greater caution even is required on the part of each constituent of the state, whilst the deluded fanatic is an equally dangerous abettor of innovation, with the wily hypocrite; their connection is the most dangerous! let the good citizen learn to know and to avoid such

party;

party ; and discriminating the follies which excite, and the artifices which occasionally follow, or take the lead,—let him in the spirit of conciliation and tolerance join to controul the enthusiast, and let him with vigilance and firmness resist the combining holy prejudices with worldly policy, to form a jointed basis for commotion ; let him obviate it as circumstances, and his ability shall permit, considering what ravages have been committed in the fury, and under the mask too of piety ; and observing from the annals of mankind, that zealotism is no sign but of madness, protestation no proof of holy fervour, and grimace no part of religion ; and having often in view the massacres which superstition hath occasioned, and the desolation which ambition hath perpetrated under the cloak of sanctity ! So far the study of mankind is the duty of each member of the state, who for the security, and many other blessings he enjoys under the shelter of government, owes his mite towards the obviating every evil which may tend to the subversion or annoyance of the social establishment which protects him.

RETURNING to the history of Greece as complicated with that of Athens, we are now to have in view a *bold war* made necessary to the schemes of ambition ; from zeal and superstition in the *subordinate parties*, made horridly destructive to private persons and property ; from a crafty simulation of piety in the *principal party*, turned to a selfish account, and made ruinous to the rights and liberties of a whole country.

THE success of arms gave to each state, with accession of territory, new consequence and ascendancy in the common assembly of Greece, called the Amphyctionic council ; and that superior interest therein (as well may be imagined of a people degenerate from the justice and patriot-virtues of their ancestors)

was

C H A P. X. was often employed to selfish ends ; to serve the purposes of ambition, or heats of national animosity.

Diod. Sic.  
L. 16.  
Justin. L. 8.  
C. 1.

THE Thebans from their late course of conquest under Pelopidas and Epaminondas, had acquired a weight sufficient to influence the majority of votes, and in the spirit of revenge they turned the tide of power on their ancient foes, the Spartans and the Phocians: they managed on a frivolous pretence, to procure the passing of a decree, which imposed so heavy a fine, that the respective funds of those states were inadequate to the discharge of it, and thereby they were driven to the odious necessity of warring with the prescriptive supremacy of the great Grecian council. Phocis, from situation lay readiest for attack, and from national weakness was hopeless of defence; its General, Philomelus, conscious of the poor resources, whether of men or of monies that his country possessed, to supply the deficiency called in an army of mercenaries, and to have wherewithal to pay and support them, desperately laid hands on the treasures of the Delphic temple, the care and priesthood of which were entrusted to the Phocians. The nature of the contest was now changed, and the name of rebellion (hateful enough in itself) was branded with the epithets of sacrilegious and profane.

Pausan. in  
Phocic.  
Strabo. L. 9.

HUMAN nature under a similitude of circumstances, hath been every where and in every age the same; the horrors of the sacred war in Greece may be depicted with the like colouring, as the vehement and bloody contests, with which the holy madness of zeal, and vanities of heresy, have from time to time stained the æra of the most merciful of religions.

THE mind deeply employed on what it never can attain, and deeply interested in what it never can be assured of, recurs for

assistance to the universality of opinion, which, in proportion to its extent gives comfort and hope to those who unwilling to doubt, and unable to believe, rest their security on the belief of others : when any portion of this universality is withdrawn, it must affect each party to the communion, on the totality of which rests the strength of good faith, whence each individual mind draws its consolatory peace : in itself the mind hath found no certitude, in general acquiescence it hath presumed one ; and a privation of that proof (visionary as it is) of what it hath been taught to wish, and thence to imagine, threatens it with a state of doubt, horror, and despondency ; which to avoid, it fancies itself into enthusiasm, or deviates into idle superstitions, and at any rate rages against all, who subtracting their authority, have diminished its original resources, and have driven it to phrenzy and discontent. This religious fury once awakened, deprives the soul of all happiness, but in its madness ; to think, were to dispel that *particular* prophetic dream of life, which habit and hope have made so necessary ; and to this the zealot prefers his delirium, fights blindfold, and tilts at all, who, the bandage from their eyes, are victims to the rage they vainly seek to calm, instead of to oppose. Religious fury, as it is cruel, so is it implacable ; whilst it knows not remorse, or mistaking the workings of conscience, blindly seeks peace in the reiterated perpetration of the very crimes, which imperceptibly have been the ruin of it !

THE very numerous examples of the inveteracy attending religious dissensions, have been many too recent, and all, much too frequent to render a detail of its spirit of massacre and persecution any longer necessary : what Demosthenes says of the country of Phocis is an account since recapitulated again and again under other names ; says he, “ going to Delphos our eyes are  
“ struck on every side with ruins of buildings, and marks of de-

M m

“ solation,

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X.

Demost. Orat.  
 περί φωκίας  
 περί φωκίας.

“folation, a country depopulated, no young men to be seen,  
 “but a few women and boys, and some few aged and miser-  
 “able fathers.” Thus dismissing particular and odious charac-  
 teristics of every contest in which superstition bears a part, I  
 proceed to the general history and public consequences of the  
 Phocian holy war.

Diodor. Sic.  
 L. 16.

THE Athenians ever jealous of each state which arrogated that  
 supremacy in Greece, which they had some time born and still  
 pretended to, were dissentient on the great question in the Am-  
 phyctionic council carried by Thebes against Phocis and Sparta :  
 at first they assisted the Phocians secretly ; but the Thebans be-  
 ing worsted in almost every engagement, by the great armies of  
 mercenaries, which the pillage of the Delphic temple brought  
 together, they ventured to take a more decisive part, and sent  
 five thousand heavy armed foot and four hundred horse to join  
 the Phocians. The affairs of Thebes now seemed desperate, and  
 but for a particular fortune of war, success might have quickly  
 construed rapine and sacrilege into necessity, have traced the ef-  
 ficient cause to the Amphyctionic decree, that decree to the in-  
 terference of Thebes, and thus the odium have recoiled from those  
 immediately guilty, on the heads of those who afforded occasion  
 of the guilt ; for in contests of this nature the rights of perfec-  
 tion ever shift their ground from the conquered to the con-  
 querors. The Thebans applied to Philip ; thrice, says Justin, the  
 Athenians had bought off the interference of that prince, but  
 now an event occurring which obviated their application in  
 common with the Phocians, they left the Phocians in the lurch,  
 and negotiated a separate peace for themselves. Such at Athens  
 was the dread of this aspiring monarch that this treaty was spun  
 out ; and whilst their allies were pursued with fire and sword,  
 the Athenian assembly re-echoed with commiseration of the Pho-  
 cians, and with invectives against Philip, but the Athenian armies  
 remained

Justin. L. 8.  
 C. 4.

Demost. Orat.  
 περί φωκίας.

remained idle, and successive embassies went to Pella and to the Macedonian camp. CHAP.  
X.

THE ambitious Philip (as to every other territory in his neighbourhood) had made pretensions to Thessaly; but Lycophron still disputed those pretensions, and having acquaintance with the Phocian Onomarchus who had succeeded Philomelus in command, he proffered him a reinforcement of Thessalian horse, provided that he would in return aid him with his mercenaries, if attacked by the Macedonian. The enterprizing activity of Philip soon brought on the expected exigency, and Onomarchus successfully supported the cause of Lycophron, and drove his rival from the field: Philip, with a quick eye, saw the advantage that might be taken of this defeat; hitherto the nature of his quarrel with Lycophron had born the aspect of usurpation, but his enemy connected with the Phocians, was now stained with some tincture of their cause, and might justly be pursued with all the rancour of piety: taking the part of the Amphyctions he was at the same time conquering his rival, gaining an establishment in Greece, and a superior interest in its determinations and councils. Justin. et  
Diodor. ubi  
suprà.

With alacrity therefore he prepared to change the seat of war, forwarded new levies to the field, and attacked the Phocian army, his soldiers hymning the name, and wearing each a laurel sprig in honour, of the Delphic Apollo: Philip gaining an easy victory, sent to Thebes to demand the pleasure of that state relative to the treatment of his prisoners, the punishment of whom he left to Them, as avengers of the profane and sacrilegious depredations on the most holy of temples: the Thebans flattered by this condescension, and elated with the hopes of further advantage from the alliance of so powerful a prince, blindly entered into his views by an impolitic solicitation of his sustaining the cause he had so gloriously undertaken. Pausan. in  
Phocicis.

## CHAP.

## X.

IT was at this time, and during these transactions, that the assembly of Athens was haranguing so haughtily, and deciding so remissly on the several enterprizes of Philip: in truth, besides the indolent and lascivious temper of the times, much concurred to flatter or to argue the Athenians into an idleness of opposition, that bore almost the mien of neutrality.

ARISTODEMUS and Neoptolemus sent to pry into the real designs of Philip, were received with the most generous affability, and returned to plead the cause of their benefactor: these men belonged to the theatre, but the reader must not suppose, that this their profession any ways affected the dignity of their mission, or authority of their report; Livy speaking of the public merits of the

Demost. Orat.  
et etiam Ætichi-  
nis, τῆς κα-  
τασκευῆς.

actor Aristo, says "*nec ars, quia nihil tale apud Græcos pu-*

*dori est, ea deformabat:*" two likewise of the most noble of the

citizens, Phrynon, and Ctesiphon, having visited the court of

Pella on their own private concerns, came from Macedon with

much proof of the munificence, and of course with many tales of

Plut. Vit. Pho-  
cion.

the justice and goodness of the king; and Phocion at the head of

the most virtuous and independant party of the state, deemed it

in this degenerate age most expedient to temporize, and not to ex-

pose his country to a contest, which the corruption and vices of

its constituents rendered it most inadequate to. When we are told

Athenæ Deip-  
nosoph. L. 14.  
p. 624.

that sixty of the prime [175] citizens (like Boccacio's mirthful

secession from the plague of Florence) had totally withdrawn

from the assembly of the commonwealth, and had formed a so-

ciety of wit and merriment, the chief rule of which was never to

think of what concerned the state;—when we are told that such

Ælian. var.  
Hist. L. 1.  
C. 25.

an association *was*,—was *known*, and was *permitted*, we must agree

with Phocion and other good and free citizens, that to be so by

sufferance was their best, and indeed only hope: they used the

Plut. Vit. Pho-  
cion.

same address to conciliate Philip, as Philip to deceive them; in

this very momentous crisis they still had an eye to the confirma-

tion

tion of peace, and when the more spirited, or less considerate patriots were bellowing for war, they pleaded for temporizing measures; they reprobated these too great sticklers for old virtues, and old manners perhaps with reason; Cicero was right when he said of Cato "*nocet interdum reipublicæ, dicens, tanquam in Platonis Πολιτεία, non tanquam in Romuli sæce, sententiam.*" This moderate party once again prevailed with the assembly to postpone all hostile preparations, and to depute a more respectable embassy of ten of the principal men of the state, to demand a categorical answer from Philip, and to get a clear view into his designs, and into the strength of his kingdom: what is wished, is readily believed; and Philip desirous of not embroiling himself too prematurely with a republic, yet most populous and wealthy, took advantage of their desires of [176] peace, to deceive the people into a security of it, by the most specious language and most ingratiating behaviour to their ambassadors: these ten men were of the best families, or otherwise of the first repute in Athens, all of much ascendancy, and all of different characters;—for the courteous, he had affability; for the proud, honourable attention; money for the avaricious, and liberality for all;—another, and another embassy succeeded, from which the delegates returned, or deceived themselves, or to deceive their countrymen, and to accuse and bicker with one another.

CHAP.  
X.

Ep. ad attic.  
L. 2. Ep. 1.

Diodor. Sic.  
L. 16.


Orationes  
Demosth.  
et Æschinis,  
πρὸς παρα-  
κρίσεις.

THESE ministries, during which something like a peace was botched up, served but to give Philip time to proceed on his great design, and to feed the flames of dissention and animosity which long had wasted the strength of Athens: however the protracted negotiation diverted, or the final compact restricted the measures of the republic, they were no bar to the progress of its insidious enemy: having listened to the solicitation of the Thebans, having joined forces with them on the confines of Phocis, obliged its inhabitants to a discretionary surrender, massacred or enslaved

Justin. L. 8.  
C. 4.

Diodor. Sic.  
L. 16. § 31.  
Pausan. in  
Phocic.



CHAP. X.  enslaved the people, burnt or dismantled the towns, and having in reward for these services under the Amphyctionic banner gained a seat in its councils, Philip was preparing to turn all these events to account, and on this footing-place to fix the machine that was to shake the universe, to master Greece, and with Greece to conquer Asia!

Isocrat. ep. ad  
Philipp.

Orat. πρὸς  
Εὐρυμένην.

Demost. Orat.  
ὁ πρὸς κτιστοὺς  
Φοῖν.  
etiam Æschinid.

Strabo. L. 9.

Demost. Orat.  
ὁ πρὸς κτιστοὺς  
Φοῖν.

Diod. Sic.  
L. 16.  
Plut. Vit.  
Demost.

DEMOSTHENES now once again attempted to awaken his fellow-citizens to an apprehension of the schemes of Philip; and Athens sent forth her army of mercenaries, and sent forth her ministers too to the different states of Greece; but the Locrians now falling under similar imputation as heretofore the Phocians, the Greeks, as if rivals for servitude, with the same heat they had been emulous of empire, engaged Philip to set forth at the head of the Amphyctionic army to chastise the delinquents: thus these exertions of Athens as late were fruitless, for Philip now by invitation marched into Greece, and with great show of veneration and piety accepted the command, whilst favouring oracles daily proceeded from the venal tripod, as texts for each traiterous demagogue to descant on, and blind the easy superstitious citizens: too soon and most fatally they were undeceived, when Philip at the head of a mighty army, instead of employing it to the religious purpose for which he had been permitted, without opposition, to penetrate thus far, suddenly turned, surprised, fortified, and garrisoned Elatea, a city lying between, and commanding, the territories, on one side of Thebes, on the other of Athens. Necessity now held the place of virtue; the people were for a moment frightened out of their vices and indolence, and hastily passed a decree, that teemed with the spirit of their ancient vigour and constitution: a manifesto was expedited to the chief states of Greece; and a chosen embassy, in which Demosthenes took a part, was sent to plead their common cause with Thebes; in vain Philip employed every artifice to prevent

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prevent the union of these states ; the allied armies of the Thebans and the Athenians joined to defend the liberties of their common country.

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THE battle of Chæroneia [177] quickly decided the contest ; and Greece, whose age of heroism hath been the favourite of poetry, whose mature and patriotic vigour exerted against the Persian was the ornament of eloquence, whose struggles in, and convalescence from, intestine commotion, have been the pride of history,—losing its spirit, its freedom, and its policy, was sunk beneath the arms or intrigues of an ambitious king, and left indebted for its every privilege to his good-will and sufferance.

Pausan. in Atg  
Justin. L. 9  
C. 3.

CHAP.

## THE HISTORY OF ATHENS.

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C H A P. XI.

OF DEMAGOGUES—OF DEMOSTHENES—PARALLEL OF THE  
ELOQUENCE OF DEMOSTHENES AND OF CICERO.

**I**T may generally be said [178] of every state, that its decline from liberty and power, is the immediate consequence of a change of that conduct which established its freedom, and which raised it to dominion.

THE vigour of a patriotic government, succeeded by the temporizing policy of a selfish administration; the spirit of a virtuous and united people, yielding to the pursuit of partial and divided interests; good laws exchanged for bad; a disregard of all laws substituted for universal obedience, and (in a word) private views substituted for public views, account readily for a reverse of fortunes, in a degree proportionate to each revolution of morals and of institution.

To mark out the progress of corruption as to manners, and as to the conduct of public affairs, and to note the concomitant symptoms of decline affecting the constitution of the commonwealth, and its force and its empire, hath been the scope of this work; yet it hath moreover suited the purpose of political enquiry, at particular and important epochs, from these general topics, to sift out the detail that more immediately applies to the event in hand, to forego awhile the broader mass of subject, and call the attention exclusively to such part, as seems more especially in contact with some point in question.

THE

THE subject of demagogues is no inapplicable appendix to the successes of Philip; nor is it partial, or uninteresting: how many free states besides that of Athens, how many glorying in the strength of opulence, of people, of navy, and of empire, have been betrayed by popular leaders, and have lost the benefit of each resource, dissipated in speculation, divided through faction, lost through presumption, and surrendered through treasons!—How many free states shall be added to the example, and evince the incompetency of political lessons, to obviate the evils arising from an influence which nature hath implanted and made supreme,—*the influence of stronger minds over weaker minds!* Happy is the age and country, when such pre-eminence is under the self-controul which virtue and moderation can alone impose!

SAYS Aristotle, “most [179] of the ancient despots or kings “ became such from demagogues; the cause that this occurred “ so often then, and so rarely now, is, that of old the popular “ and the military leader were one, and depended not on oratory “ but arms; now oratory being in vogue, mere orators are our “ demagogues, and from incapacity for war attempt not open “ usurpation.”—Many gradations in the character of demagogue fill up the interval from that distant æra, when simple attack and defence constituted the whole system of external policy, and when accordingly the people’s deference was paid alone to those possessed of acuteness and valour in the field of battle, down to the age of state-intrigue and of eloquence which Aristotle alludes to.

Aristot. Pol.  
L. 5. C. 5.

THE love of patronage and of pre-heminence ever have incited, and ever will incite men to seek political consequence and authority; and both the means of acquiring, and the mode of exercising power, are ever adapted to the proportion of virtue and

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understand-

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vid. Dedic-  
tion of the  
Essay on Par-  
ties.

understanding in those who are to bestow or to confirm it : the qualities of a governor mold easily to the system of government, and to the temper of the governed ; and these prototypes generally may be estimated by the practices and conduct they have given rise to, in the different times, and in the different classes of popular favourites and ministers : it is a misfortune to humanity, that the exceptions to this analogy of qualities in the elect and in the elected, are little favourable to the side of public virtue ; a good man elevated by a vicious people, at periods when a sense of exigency or distress hath superseded ordinary partialities, hath rarely retained his power for any time, beset as he is on all sides, by the artifice and calumnies of those, who better know how to awaken and attach the prejudices of a depraved nation : but a bad man, having gained the place of authority through deceptions practised on good and easy men, may long remain in office through the same arts as placed him there ; and what is worst, in the permanency of power, “ may attain that security by corrupting the “ people, which he hath forfeited by dishonouring the govern- “ ment :” his work is thus doubly nefarious, whilst he poisons the remedy to the very ills and afflictions he has been the occasion of ; and it remains a doubtful position, if the means of supporting the worse man, or of depressing the better character, are the more ruinous to a free country.

A SHORT review of popular favouritism in Athens will give force to these reflections, and will properly too attach with the orevious observation of Aristotle.

ON the demise of the Pisistratidæ, and establishment of the commonwealth of Solon, the equality as likewise the pretensions of men were too general to admit of much deference towards any individual citizen from the state at large : the conduct of Clis-thenes at home, and of Miltiades in the Chersonese and in Ionia,

as well as at Marathon, seem adapted to conciliate a people enamoured of liberties newly recovered from domestic usurpation, and bravely sustained against a foreign enemy : yet Clifthenes was banished by the popular judicature himself had established, and Miltiades was condemned to a fine, and both rather from apprehensions of undue ascendancy, than from the idea of guilt : under similar impressions, the people were niggard of honours and reward ; “ says Æschines [180], let Demosthenes show if  
 “ any decree is extant by which such men as Miltiades and  
 “ Themistocles were honoured with a chaplet ; he cannot ; were  
 “ the people then ungrateful to merit ? no : but they were too  
 “ elate with the general sentiment of conscious virtue, to admit  
 “ of such distinctions to that of *any one*.”

Æschin. Orat.  
 contra Ctesiphont.

THE genuine simplicity of republican virtue, and of the constitution of the commonwealth, gave way to the demagogues who followed.

THE people from the course of the second Persian war had derived or assumed pretensions to greater equality within the state ; their rivalry with Sparta had broken out from the emulation, and from the enmities which occurred from a clashing of the general, and of the separate interests in the common cause ; and the views of conquest followed quickly on the command with which the confederate Greeks had vested the Athenian General soon after the battle of Plataea : the suitors for public favour coincided with the humour of the day, — they availed themselves of each circumstance to conciliate the assembly, and molded their practice to the contingency of affairs, and to the views of the people : — Cimon extended their empire of the seas ; Themistocles fortified their city in despite of Sparta ; and Aristides moved the decree for new rights and privileges to the commonalty : thus ambitious and artful policy as to foreign powers,

CHAP. and the turbulency of democratic freedom within the pale of the  
 XI. republic, originated in, or were strengthened by the coincidence  
 of qualities and of enterprize on the part of particular men, with  
 the temper of the times, and with the revolution of state.

YET hitherto, if I may so express it, the people belonged not to the demagogues, but the demagogues to the people : they were servants chosen with nice discrimination of merit, but when presuming too far on that merit, were dismissed the service from a sense of the dangers of influence, a sense of union superiour to all distinctions, and a feeling for the public weal above all private considerations.

THE effect of conquests was the soon introducing private considerations founded in the distinctions of poverty and wealth, resulting from the various fortunes of war ; the effect of admitting the people to a greater share in the government, at the same crisis militated the influence of this wealth ; the poverty and power of the people for a time resisted, at least the grafting thereon political distinctions, and the state was divided, into a party for the commonwealth, and partizans of the noble and opulent : the commonwealth's men gained the victory ; the cause of the aristocracy was lost in the banishment of Thucydides, and the people seated their demagogue Pericles at the helm of government. Apprehensive of the machinations of those in opposition to him, Pericles instituted the retaining popular partizans, and had his Ephialtes and other subordinate demagogues to sustain the cry of liberty and independancy, till through the vices, and corruption sown during his long administration, the subject fell into disrepute, and he no longer found it necessary to harangue, on patriotism and public rights ; or even to convene an assembly of the people, but ruled without them. Another Pericles would have been a successor, immediately fatal to the constitution

stitution of Athens : the effect of *his* ministry was the fitting out new candidates for power, introducing new means of acquiring it, and preparing the people for admitting it. The management and eloquence of Pericles begat an hundred intriguers and an hundred orators, who tutored by him in the school of political altercation, (for the powers of attack ever produce those of defence) started up on his demise to plead for influence in the state, and practice on their own account the policy and language, they had heretofore used in subserviency to, or in opposition of, the power of Pericles : the vulgar Cleon and the accomplished Alcibiades had successively the ear of the assembly, broken into an hundred parties by its hundred orators ;—and from this growth and prevalence of oratory we may date the fluctuation of power and measures, which weakened the government, and facilitated the conquests of Lyfander.

FROM the intrigues of those who succeeded to Pericles a circumstance accrued, which not only had an immediate effect on the administration of those times, but which seemed calculated to perpetuate the evils of dissention, of undue influence, and all others which political altercation and the ambition of individuals might (if not restrained) be supposed to create, in a popular government, such as was that of Athens. Nicias and Alcibiades however dissident in other respects, joined their interests and parties to preclude the ostracism falling, as might happen, on either ; and further to divert the popular dissatisfactions arising from the calamities of the times, employed their respective partizans to procure that honourable exile to be adjudged to one Hyperbolus ; a man of the lowest extraction and of manners and character so conformable, that his name was even proverbial for meanness and infamy : the influence of these great men effected their purpose ; but the ostracism thenceforward was considered as disgraced and polluted ; and the people, in disgust at having been induced to employ

Plut. Vit.  
Aristid.

Ælian. L. 12.  
C. 43.  
Schol. ad  
Athenæum.  
L. 12. p. 538.

Arist. Comœd.  
Ranæ. et al.



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employ it to such purpose, for ever rejected its further use; Plutarch says, "abolished it;"—but had such decree ever passed, it was too essential an alteration in the constitution, not to have been noticed by the orators, and historians too: thus was this admirable institution lost; thus was the great restraint on ambition, on intrigue, on faction, for ever gone; and thus were future demagogues to be in the full right and possession of every means of competition, however dangerous to the constitution of state;—thus were dissention and altercation to have no termination, 'till that of the very liberties of the republic; and thus were the demagogues under the influence of Philip empowered fearlessly to undermine those liberties!

Demost. Orat.  
περί τῶν ἐν  
Ῥηγορίᾳ.  
sub. fin.

Plut. Vit.  
Phocion.

ON the restoration of the commonwealth, military men were chiefly looked to, by a people who had their empire to recover, as well as their liberties to maintain: Thraſybulus, Conon, Timotheus, Chabrias, and Iphicrates were mere generals, unless from a passage of Demosthenes, Timotheus may be presumed to have been an orator; that Chares was an orator as well as general, we have the authority of Plutarch for, and in the social war, it has been observed that Chares had the influence to disgrace both Timotheus and Iphicrates. Thus quickly, when the fears of men subsided, eloquence regained its ascendancy: that it should do so, is easy to account for; to argue with men, flatters their understandings; to sooth, bespeaks their power; to explain and to account for things, intimates a responsibility to them; and the choice of subject lays a thousand more roads open to the vanities and to the self-gratifications of the audience: to this, it should be added that the speaker is ordinarily of superior abilities, and that in debating to the judgment of a popular assembly, the most captivating adulation hath effect, that of placing the abilities of the hearers in competition with, or even above, those of the admired speaker: it was hence that Livy had

had occasion to say, *nec unquàm ibi defunt linguæ promptæ ad plebem concitandam, quod genus in omnibus liberis civitatibus tum præcipuè Athenis, ubi oratio plurimùm pollet, favore multitudinis alitur*. Whether the mischiefs or the benefits arising from popular harangues have been the most frequent, complicate the question of use and abuse of eloquence with the circumstances, and with the characteristics of the people it is addressed too; and considering it in this general view, I venture to assert, that centuple evils, for a single public advantage, have ensued declamations addressed to a popular audience.

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T. Livii. Hist.  
L. 31.

IN times of private and of public virtue (which I think no ways separable) plain language is suited to plain truths, and to propose and elucidate a fair and open plan of administration, requires few words to make it acceptable to those, who have no views but to the common welfare: how far in times of general corruption, the eloquence of a good man may succeed in recommending just and honourable measures to a vicious people needs little investigation; Cato (as appears from a letter of Cicero) was wont to speak a whole day, and to little purpose; and even the Philippics of Cicero effected as little in *facie Romuli*, as those of Demosthenes in *facie Solonis*. The great Roman allows *antequàm delectata est Atheniensium civitas hac laude dicendi, multa jam memorabilia, et in domesticis et in bellicis rebus effecerat*: I will add to the observation, that after the charms of oratory had their full force, the Athenians effected nothing great or praise-worthy, within their own republic, or in respect to foreign powers.

Cicero. in  
Bruto.

It remains to explain that popular eloquence is the source of the greatest evils: it is in itself an art that never hath reached perfection, but when other elegant arts, with their luxuries and with their vices, have paved the way for a taste adapted to its refinements;

refinements ; it is *then* the proper servant of intrigue and of corruption, for it is suited to varnish over crimes, to obscure or to pervert the conduct of virtuous opponents, to substitute persuasion for conviction, and glossing over private views with a false colour of public interests, to make men lose sight of the way back from their state of depravity and ruin.

BOLINGBROKE in his letter on patriotism hath observed, that Demosthenes was a statesman, and that an orator must necessarily be so : I should scarcely have thought it necessary to enforce the position, had not the elegant and learned writer of the life of Philip stepped forward to controvert the allegation : I think Bolingbroke had read very little of Demosthenes, and studied as little the history of those times, when he adduced the instance of his Theban embassy ; he thereby gave an advantage of criticism to his learned opponent : but as to fact, in a state so conversant with public business as that of Athens (the authority of Photius, and *the action*, and *action*, and *action* of Demosthenes apart) the orator must have had matter as well as manner ; he must have had political knowledge as well as words ; but it were puerile to dwell on the refutation of a contrary tenet, whilst the orations of Demosthenes are before us !—is there a fact in the history of those times that escapes him, or, *that hath not supplied authorities for the life of Philip* ? Is there a deduction from those facts that doth not denote his knowledge of business, and political acuteness ? doth not each speech teem with reference to the laws of his country, to public letters, to embassies, and other documents of state ? doth not every oration stand in example (as Bolingbroke adduced it) against the frivolous pretensions of those, *who seek to be public speakers, without the knowledge of public business* ?

THE opponents of Demosthenes had not the full powers of *his* eloquence, but they blended their Eloquence with the proper coadjutors, intrigue and corruption, and with these assistants traversed his patriotic designs.

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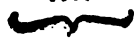
As eloquence is suited to the covering or protecting crimes, so is it friendly to a connection with them; sophistry may explain away *too nice* distinctions of virtue and vice, or may with success turn to ridicule *cynic morality*, or, in an age and country wherein wealth and vanity have any concern, may surely, at least, make bribery palatable by liberal expressions, and by the mode of giving, and by the words with which the gift is accompanied: he is a poor master of subornation in a public cause, who knows not how to find largesses for the virtuous even, *who are vain*, as well as for the minions of avarice:—Philip during a conversation at table gave Satyrus two female slaves, whom that Athenian had mentioned in terms of commiseration, as exposed from their beauty to the brutality of a master, and to the loss of virtue and liberal sentiments their education had implanted; Satyrus received the present, honourably endowed the virgins in marriage, and was ever after a friend to Philip.

Diodor. Sic.  
L. 16.

GOLD indeed was the ordinary medium of the king's solicitations:—on the height of the walls of Amphipolis being remarked, [181] “Gold (said he) I think might be thrown over them;” and with gold he supplied his Athenian opponents to Demosthenes, “yet (says Diodorus) never degrading those who received his pay, but ever terming them his dear friends and intimates, thus affixing honour to corruption, and obliterating all distinctions among men:” Æschines, Philocrates, and others doubtless made good use of the means, which Philip supplied them with, and taught others to *Philippize* as well as the oracle; but even independant of these means, perhaps their

Diodor. Sic.  
Lib. 16.  
§ 54.

Ibid.



very inferiority to Demosthenes in some respects was an additional cause of their success with the people: the expansive and intuitive genius of the great heaven-born statesman is only in difficult times, and not often in any times, permitted to exert its pretensions to rule and influence: his capacity is more commonly the object of admiration than of confidence; and his want of attention to the little concerns which engage ordinary minds, is not readily excused by the generality who would give consequence to the objects of their own pride and occupation: on the other hand, temporizing politicians suit a popular assembly become selfish, fickle, and indolent, and on each consideration of state business weighing immediate ease and gratification, against public interests, and the dangers of enterprize: these men please them by not seeming to involve them in any affairs of imminent crisis; they restrict policy to the business of the day; they bustle and hurry in the course of men and things as they pass in view, and adapt their conduct, and shift and vary as the scene changes before them; this description of men *pares negotio neque supra*, as Tacitus calls them, for the most part, work themselves into the high offices of government, and in preference to greater characters are admitted and even chosen; their abilities are known and understood; their conversation is adapted to the occasion and to the person; they have assiduity, and they have method; and the general voice for the promotion of these politicians in detail, calls them, *men of business*. Such, for the most part, were the opponents [182] of Demosthenes, and having too Philip's gold-mines of Crenidæ at their disposal, no doubt they had superior influence in an assembly so constituted as was that of Athens:

Demost. Orat.  
 οὐκ ἔστιν ὡς  
 ἡμεῖς ποιοῦμεν.

said Philocrates, “O Athenians, Demosthenes drinks water, “and I drink wine; is there any wonder that we are on different “sides of the question?” general laughter and applause ensued, and Demosthenes could not on that day get a hearing [183]: this

*egregius compotor* was the great friend of Philip; Demades another of his friends kept an excellent table; Æschines, of the same party, was a *man of business*; and in other respects too seems to have been suited to the ingratiating himself with all descriptions of men, for he had not only the populace, but Eubulus too and Phocion with him, in the great contest with Demosthenes on the subject of their embassies.

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Æschinis.  
Orat.  
ἐπὶ τῷ φημι-  
στῶν. sub. fin.

SUCH were the engines of Philip, such were the materials suited to the instruments; such were the orators who undertook the easy task, of persuading the inactive, that activity was useless; the timid, that war was unnecessary; and the selfish, that the public interests were in no danger, and required no assistance: and to Demosthenes they objected, that he was a mere man of words; that he traduced the people, when he attacked the men of their choice; that his very disinterestedness was practised to deceive; that he meant to ruin them, by embroiling them with their generous and good ally; and that the people should never trust him in any case, for that on the embassy to Pella, he would not associate with the ministers themselves confided in, and *that he drank water*.

ead. Orat.

THUS even the follies and vices of the people were a very plea to them against the pretensions of a wise and virtuous minister.

HAVING in a previous chapter lightly touched a comparative sketch of the Greek and Roman historians, I shall now briefly concenter the claims to eloquence in a comparison of Demosthenes and Cicero, and at the same time shelter myself from the imputation of presumption under the parallels of Longinus and Quintilian, and the Elogium of Dionysius.

Comparison of Demosthenes and Cicero, *by a Greek.*

Longin. *επιστ.*  
*ελογ.* C. 12.

—— “ whose force cannot be better [184] compared than to  
 “ the ocean rolling before a storm! the eloquence of Demosthenes  
 “ o’erwarmed with passion, not only is heated, but boils, as it  
 “ were, with the flame; nor is the eloquence of *the other* def-  
 “ titute of force, whilst assuredly it is fraught with dignity and  
 “ splendor; though, I think, no ways animated with the same  
 “ glow of feelings, or the same ardour of language: in my  
 “ opinion (if, my Terentianus, we Greeks may be permitted  
 “ an opinion touching a Latin orator) there is no great distinc-  
 “ tion of eloquence between Cicero and Demosthenes, excepting  
 “ in the point abovementioned: Demosthenes is more poignant,  
 “ lofty, and compressed in stile; Cicero more diffuse: our  
 “ Greek, with that strength, brightness, and velocity, enflames  
 “ whatever he touches on, that he should be compared to the  
 “ tempest, which hurries all before it, or to the lightening,  
 “ which strikes at the moment: Cicero’s oratory shoots not  
 “ forth so impetuously, but as a lambent flame, plays round  
 “ its subject, and with the copious matter feeds itself, as it  
 “ winds over the soil, till its fuel is exhausted, and its force is  
 “ spent even to satiety: yourself, Terentianus will better judge,  
 “ but I must further observe, that the season of the Demosthenic  
 “ stile, soaring, bold, and impassioned, is when the hearer is  
 “ to be carried away, and hurried into the sentiments of the  
 “ speaker; and that the proper occasion of the diffusive rhetoric,  
 “ is, when it is necessary to calm, or to soften the feelings of  
 “ the audience.”

Quintil. *Inst.*  
*Orat.* L. 10.  
C. 3.

Comparison of Cicero and Demosthenes, *by a Latin.*

—— “ Our orators have raised the Latin eloquence to a rival-  
 “ ship with that of the Greeks; for I will boldly oppose Cicero  
 to

“ to the most renowned of their nation : nor am I unaware of  
 “ the many adversaries I am exciting, nor to what strictures I  
 “ expose myself by the assertion ; and more especially, as I *seem*  
 “ to deviate from the path I had proposed taking, expressly to  
 “ seek this trial with Demosthenes ; but this matters not, when  
 “ I allow that the works of Demosthenes should first be read,  
 “ or rather gotten by heart : the excellencies of either, I think,  
 “ are equal as to political knowledge, strength of argument,  
 “ method of arrangement, and as to all other points that come  
 “ under the heads of invention and reasoning : in eloquence they  
 “ differ ; that of the one, is more compressed ; that of the other,  
 “ more copious ; the one is more pointedly, the other more fully,  
 “ conclusive ; the one is ever keen and forcible ; the other some-  
 “ time keen yet always with dignity ; from the one, nothing  
 “ could be taken ; to the other, nothing could be added ; more  
 “ art is in the one, more nature in the other ; in the witty and  
 “ in the tender (which most affect the taste and feelings of men)  
 “ we have the better of the comparison ; perhaps the usages of  
 “ his commonwealth precluded such sort of appeals ; and on the  
 “ other hand, much that the Athenians admired, might not  
 “ have been deemed admissible before a Roman audience : as to  
 “ their epistles, there is no comparison ; and many of either are  
 “ extant, for us to decide on their respective merits : we must  
 “ yield something however, under consideration that Demosthe-  
 “ nes was the elder, and that Cicero became great, as he was,  
 “ from the study of his predecessor. To me it seems that Marcus  
 “ Tullius Cicero, when he applied himself to a study and emu-  
 “ lation of the Greeks, exhausted and made his own, all the  
 “ force of Demosthenes, the exuberance of Plato, and the ele-  
 “ gance of Isocrates.”

THE Roman gives the preference to the Roman, the Greek to  
 the Greek ; however artfully either, under the semblance of im-  
 partial



CHAP. partial criticism, gives no direct opinion, yet such is the com-  
 XI. parison, and so conducted, as to induce the reader to adopt a fa-  
 vourable idea of preference to the countryman of the writer.

I WILL humbly strive to mitigate the contention, and mediate a truce between the armies of critics, on the grounds, that Cicero and Demosthenes will severally most please according to the temper of the reader; whether he is of a persuasive, or of a commanding spirit; whether of an acute mind well informed and well arranged, or of a bold and intuitive genius; whether, and in what degree, a friend to public liberty; for it is not enough to be learned, *the people must be free, who can relish the eloquence of Demosthenes.*

Traité par  
Gendre.

SAYS a French critic, “ Il me semble qu’on ne fait pas assez valoir un grand motif de décider la supériorité de Cicéron sur Demosthène; tout est serré, nerveux et véhément dans l’orateur Grecque; mais toujours également austère et impétueux, il n’est pas exempt, avec tout son feu, de sécheresse et de monotonic; *il ne connoît qu’un genre d’Eloquence.*”

Dionys. Halicarn.  $\pi\rho\iota$   
 $\delta\epsilon\mu\sigma\tau\eta\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$   $\Delta\eta\mu\omega\sigma\theta\epsilon\varsigma$ .  $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota$ .

THIS decision hath no weight, though abetted by a whole tribe of academicians, nor will have weight with the reader, when it is shown, that the most judicious, intelligent, and acute of ancient critics, attributes those very beauties of diversity and novelty to Demosthenes, which the modern (*with many associates of higher reputation*) so peremptorily denies him. Says Dionysius [185], “ Demosthenes having collected his political knowledge from various sources, and having ever before him the works and examples of the most eminent in the line he assumed, did not deign to make any one man, or any one character, the scope of his studies and emulation; deeming each to be imperfect in the whole, or even in the parts of oratory; “ he

“ he called from each only what was most able and excellent, CHAP.  
 “ and therefrom made himself master of one simple and perfect XI.  
 “ eloquence ; imperious, yet pliant ; redundant, yet forcible ;  
 “ novel, yet familiar ; various, yet accurate ; sententious, yet  
 “ agreeable ; stretched to the strongest nerve of argument,  
 “ yet occasionally relaxing, in relief of the audience ; captivat-  
 “ ing the very ear in which it thundered reproach ; moral, yet  
 “ impassioned ; differing nought from that Proteus, whom an-  
 “ cient poets represent, as putting on and off at pleasure every  
 “ form and semblance ; whether he was a god or dæmon fasci-  
 “ nating the eyes of men, or whether wisdom personified, he  
 “ bewildered with varied eloquence the diversely affected au-  
 “ dience ; but the latter was the probable case ; and such was  
 “ Demosthenes ; and the character I would give of his eloquence,  
 “ is not that it took in parts, but that it embraced the whole.”

I AGREE with Dionysius, and venture to bestow the palm of  
 oratory on the Greek, as I did that of history on the Latins.

## CHAP.

## C H A P. XII.

## XII.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE BATTLE OF CHÆRONEA—FINALLY,  
THE SURRENDER OF THE COMMONWEALTH TO ANTIPATER  
—AND SUBVERSION OF THE REPUBLIC OF ATHENS.

Plut. Vit.  
Demosth.  
Libanius in  
Wolfii argu-  
ment. ad λόγους  
Επιλόφ. Dem.

Thucyd. L. 3.

A FUNERAL oration in honour of those slain at the battle of Chæronea was spoken by Demosthenes; the authenticity of the declamation extant hath been disputed by the scholiast, as not being replete with that sublime eloquence which characterises his other speeches; but surely on such an occasion, even Demosthenes might be allowed to fail; all his views had been frustrated; every resource of force and policy exhausted; Philip, it was not safe to irritate; the Athenians it were cruel to depress; and the two sources of invective and sympathy were thus diverted from the particular field of genius, they were the best suited to enrich: every circumstance was delicately to be conducted between the power on one side, and the miseries on the other; and might not the speaker too, be supposed embarrassed with so touching, so distressful a subject! to the declamation of Pericles every Athenian pulse beat full and high; to repeat the honours of the dead, brought no shame on the living, their loss, no ruin on the republic; and the orator had victory for his theme, and the victorious for his audience! Is no allowance to be made for the difference of the times, or for the feelings of a speaker, who was to stand up and deliver to a hopeless circle, the funeral oration of their successful friends, of their liberties, of their country!

IT

It hath not been unusual to close the history of Greece at this period: had I undertaken to trace the general history of Greece, I should consider myself as now approaching to an interesting part of my work; I should look with a curious eye into the transactions and constitution of the Achæan league; I should busy myself with the Ætolians; I should pry into the various declension of each republic, and build walls to Lacedæmon [186]: even the single state of Athens I cannot so readily quit with the simple assertion, “ that the liberties of Greece perished at the “ field of Chæronea.”

CHAP.

XII.

Tit. Liv. et  
Polyb. Hist.  
Pausan. et  
Strabo.  
Plutarch. in  
Vit. Arat.  
Justin. L. 24,  
& seq. &c.

PHILIP neither meddled with the constitution of government, nor imposed tribute, nor exercised other immediate marks of sovereignty over the Athenians; further, he gave them up the bodies of those killed in battle, and dismissed the prisoners he had taken from them: they felt, however, that their liberties existed but from sufferance, and that their power was no more; shame and resentment were vented in mutual accusation: Demosthenes flattered his countrymen by laying the defeat at Chæronea, chiefly to the account of Theban cowardice; and what remained, the people shifted from themselves, and laid to the account of their own General: the noble address of thanks from the Roman senate to the unfortunate Varro returning from Cannæ,—*quòd de republicâ non desperâisset*, was a contrast to the conduct of the assembly, as the assembly was a contrast to that senate: said the orator Lycurgus to Lyficles (without any allegation of guilt, or even of the minutest error in command) “ you “ was General when five hundred Athenian citizens were slain, “ and when two thousand were taken prisoners, when a trophy “ was raised to the disgrace of this republic, and when all “ Greece was subjugated; and yet you dare to live, to behold “ the light of the day; nay, to expose yourself in the assembly, “ a living monument of the shame and ruin of your country.”

Justin. L. 9.  
C. 4.

Demosth.  
λογ. επίλεπ.

Livii Hist.  
L. 22.

Diod. Sic.  
L. 16. § 22.

P p

Lyficles

CHAP.

XII.

Lyficles however did not long so remain, but suffered death for the weakness and follies of his countrymen : he fell a sacrifice to the fullen passions of popular remorse and vengeance ; which recoiled and fermented within the city, restricted from adversion to the juster objects of crimination,—to the conduct of Philip, to the traiterous correspondence of their demagogues, or to their own general supineness and corruption, which gave them up successively to foreign intrigues, and to domestic treasons, till the vigour of their government and empire were too enfeebled for a fair and open trial of force. Whilst Lyficles was condemned, the creatures of Philip mingled safely in the assemblies ; can a stronger proof be adduced of the political dependancy and servitude which ensued the battle of Chæronea ? or of the miserable resource of factions, thus preying on public misfortune, in default of spirit and power, to urge the charge home to public delinquency ? intestine disputes touched not on any topic in which Philip might be concerned ; to him the Athenians showed hereafter the most servile attention ; at the festival of his daughter's marriage sent him a crown of gold, and their herald publicly announced, as in vaunt of their obsequiousness, “ that “ no foe to Philip should find an asylum in Athens :” enough of these details of servitude, and which too bear a mark and character denoting the Athenians to have been ripe for servitude !

Diodor. Sic.  
L. 16.  
§ 92.

Ibid.

Isocrat. Ep.  
ad Philip.

PHILIP, to sound the temper of the Greeks, and to prepare them for the Asiatic expedition, which he had long meditated, called a meeting of their deputies to Corinth ; and Athens, and every other state (excepting Sparta) obeyed the summons, and in general council coincided with the views of Philip, declaring him commander in chief of the Grecian forces.

PHILIP

PHILIP lived not to make advantage of his conquests; his death was by some deemed favourable to a recovery of independancy and power; Demosthenes, on the news thereof, appeared in the assembly with a chaplet on his head, and exhorted the people to new struggles and opposition: but the bold and vigilant genius of Alexander gave not this spirit time to blaze; he quickly raised and appeared with a powerful force, and first attacking Thebes, as an example to other cities, levelled its walls with the ground, and sold its people to slavery:—the Athenians intimidated thereby, deputed an embassy to Alexander, with submissive excuses for their tardiness in congratulating him on his accession to the throne of Macedon, and to the command of Greece; and to such humiliation was their republic reduced, that Alexander requiring Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and eight other orators who had excited the people against his own and his father's usurpations, to be delivered up to him, even the good Phocion advised acquiescence, and it was alone from the intercession of Demades with Alexander, that their lives were spared. Having obviated the tendency to commotion, and subdued each refractory spirit within Greece, Alexander convened another council in Corinth, and there having settled the proportion of future subsidy and levies with the Greek delegates vying in submission and in adulation, he then went forth [187] at the head of his veteran army to work out under Providence, the great revolution of the East.

CHAP.

XII.

Diod. Sic.

L. 17.

Plut. Vit.

Alexand.

Diodorus ut

suprà.

DURING the twelve years that Alexander was pursuing his victories in Asia, the spirit of Athens was for a time so wholly subjugated, that every occasion of giving offence to that conqueror was cautiously avoided: latterly indeed some murmurs of discontent, and some few refractory decrees, reached the ears of Alexander; but that during his life-time the people dared not openly to assert their freedom, is evident from the story of Har-

Arrian. Exp.  
Alex.

Diodor. Sic.

L. 17. § 108.

## CHAP.

## XII.



Diodor. Sic.  
L. 17. § 4.  
Plut. Vit.  
Demosth.

palus: Harpalus entrusted with the care of the treasury at Babylon, had dissipated in luxury and ostentation a considerable part, and fearing the resentment thereon of Alexander on his return from India, fled with the remainder to Greece, escorting his spoil with six thousand mercenaries: this treasure, and these troops he proffered to the Athenians, provided they would join with him in opposition to his and their master; to this effect he bestowed largesses among the orators, and Demosthenes as having, with others, accepted a present, was sentenced to a considerable fine: during the contests with Philip, Æschines objected to Demosthenes, "the receipt of money from the treasury of Persia;" and *perhaps* he might have received money from Harpalus; and the motives of his public conduct might thence in some degree be vitiated: yet his public conduct was too earnest, uniform, and in other respects disinterested, to lightly admit of such aspersions. The tale of bribery from Persia was never regarded, and that from Harpalus being thus eagerly taken up, it leads us to suppose, that the allegation was a mere pretext on the part of the republic for a prosecution, agreeable to Alexander; and the fairest inference to be drawn from the story of Harpalus is, that Demosthenes retained a consistent spirit of opposition to the power of Macedon, and that he was vigilant in seizing every occasion of struggle for his country's emancipation; and a further inference to be deduced from his condemnation is, "that the Athenians were afraid of the contest, and unworthy of freedom."

Ælian. Var.  
Hist. L. 3.  
C. 17.

DURING these times of subjection and tranquillity, the pursuits of Athens were not yet wholly ignoble: philosophy, arts, and science, dignified the abasement of the republic; and in its decline of freedom and of empire, it more especially cultivated the elegance and erudition, suited to the sustaining a share of fame and consequence of another sort: the pupil of Aristotle

courted

courted this enlightened people, admired their pursuits and accomplishment, and from taste or policy encouraged "their love of liberal studies and Attic ease."

CHAP.  
XII.

It is a curious circumstance, that Xerxes who had yielded to the strength of the republic, from the pillage of the city, sent into Asia the statues of Aristogeiton and Harmodius; and that Alexander, who had mastered the republic, sent from Asia, and replaced these very statues of the first assertors of that liberty, he had destroyed: this remark might seem pregnant with little more than conceit, did it not lead to an observation on the ill-policy of Alexander, who, surely was little considerate of the peace and security of his government, when he sent to Athens this inflammatory present; being ever before their eyes a memorial of their past honours and present ignominy; ever reproaching them with their abject acquiescence in a servitude shameful, however light, and ever with this passive temper, contrasting the spirit of their ancient martyrs to freedom.

Plin. L. 34.  
C. 8.

THE conqueror's ill-timed generosity may be presumed, I think, to have had some such effect; for in the last book of Arrian, remarking a general embassy of the Greeks, addressing Alexander as a deity, at the same time I remember an exception (mentioned in the twelfth chapter of the fifth book of Ælian) [188] with respect to the Athenians, who roused from their servile complacency, fined the orator Demades for a mere proposal of his apotheosis; and when the heroic king sent his mandate to Greece, ordering each city to receive back its exiles, we find Athens then too (and almost singly) disputing his good-will and pleasure; and Alexander, a short time before his death, had collected a mighty force (says Justin) *ad delendas Athenas*: but he was cut off in the career of victory, and the Athenians had

Et Athenæ.  
Deipnos.  
L. 6. P. 251.

Diod. Sic.  
L. 18. § 8.

Justin. Hist.  
L. 13. C. 5.

time



CHAP. time to make warlike preparations, wherewith to dispute the so-  
 XII. vereignty of his successors.

Pausan. in  
 Attic.  
 Diod. Sic.  
 L. 17.

THE vast empire of Alexander, hereditary and acquired, being divided among his captains, Macedon, and Greece as its appendant, fell to the share of Antipater; who immediately proceeded to chastise his refractory subjects of Ætolia and Athens: Leosthenes chosen general of the united forces of these states, gained a signal victory over the new usurper, and drove him to a refuge, and closely besieged him, within the city of Lamia: this last struggle of the Athenians was for a time bravely supported; though Leosthenes had fallen in a skirmish before the gates, yet his army was not dispirited, but still closely invested the place, and in a set engagement of the cavalry, again bore the palm of victory: Antipater no longer thinking himself safe within the town, secretly withdrew; but soon again was heard of at the head of the formidable fleets of Macedon: the Athenians vigorously then prepared to beat him too from the seas, and soon they had a fleet of an hundred and seventy sail boldly in quest of their enemy.

LOOKING back a few years to the inactive and remiss conduct of the Athenians in regard to Philip, there appears subject of astonishment in the sudden change from dissention and supine weakness, to this present spirit of unanimous and vigorous exertion: to account for the vicissitude, I must attribute it to the effect of those times, when Alexander roved from kingdom to kingdom, through Asia, and left Greece to enjoy (what I should call) *the liberal age*: in the various schools, politics were reduced to a science, and morals to a system; philosophy gave strength, and the polite arts gave ease, and the general activity of the mind, gave to it vigour and spirit: the theory of what men ought to do, was becoming

becoming diffusive, and from its novelties, not yet tedious; and it had attained refinement enough to attach, and had yet simplicity enough not to elude the attention: the Athenians proud of the distinctions which accrued to them from the portico and the academe, gave readily and generally into the amusement and studies which ennobled their hour of peace; and from these studies, the citizens may be supposed to have acquired something like, what in modern language is called, *point of honour*; a sentiment which internally forbids the too easy cession of any pretension made, whether to justice, to valour, to truth, to patriotism, or (in a word) to any rare and admired quality: the Athenians curiously investigating the duties of a man and of a citizen, in some degree, the practice thereof ensued,—talking and writing of the spirit of their republican constitution, they seemed the more bounden to its support; a fortunate success on the outset encouraged the people to go on, and had they finally been victorious in the contest, perhaps Montesquieu had been obliged to wave his ingenious system, and recognize the existence (however transitory) of a free and well constituted democracy, the principle of which was *honour*.

DIODORUS observes that certain wealthy citizens opposed in the first instance the taking up arms under Leosthenes, and that some of the best and wisest considered the enterprize as more spirited than prudent, to engage with the wealth and armies under the command of Alexander's successors, who, whatever their private dissensions were, might be supposed in compact to guarantee their partition, and enforce the subjection of each province. Such political anticipation was warranted by the event: Clitus destroyed the Athenian fleet off the Isles Echinades; and Craterus joining Antipater with ten thousand of Alexander's veteran troops defeated too the land forces of the Greeks: —thus finally Athens was reduced to surrender at discretion. Antipater retaining

Diod. Sic.  
L. 18.  
Plut. Vit.  
Phocion.

CHAP.

XII.

taining the form and shadow of the old commonwealth, left it under the controul of a præfect and garrison, and further to ensure a quiet possession, banished from the city twenty-two thousand inhabitants. These, says Diodorus, were only those who had not the census necessary to the constituting a citizen, according to the new regulations; but we may be certain, I think, that Antipater lost not the opportunity of securing his government, by banishing all whose great and leading qualities might gain the ascendant over his innovations: it is probable that the old intimacy of virtue and poverty was not broken, that the good and indigent went together into exile, and that to be abject as well as to be wealthy, was some title to favour: we may therefore pronounce it glorious (and it was the last glory of the republic) on such an occasion to have lost *so many* citizens. The revolution in each dynasty of Alexander's captains, is a subject foreign to this treatise; nor doth it coincide with its general tenor to nicely investigate a *mere* list of præfects of Athens; Menyllus, Nicanor, and others, down to Demetrius Phalereus, who, set over the Athenians by Cassander, *ruled them* (as we are told) justly and wisely: it may be asked, "Did not Demetrius Poliorcetes expel the Phalæan from his government, and restore liberty to Athens?" Liberty, I answer, it was then incapable of receiving: for the truth of this remark,—recur to the lives of Plutarch, behold this *refuse* of the citizens, with the servility that disclaims the name of gratitude, enrolling this deliverer with their gods [189]; decreeing him the honours of Ceres and Bacchus; making an oracle of him; sacrificing to his statue, covered with the holy veil of their tutelary Minerva; carrying their devotion to so fulsome a pitch, that Demetrius himself, at length deeming them unworthy of further tenderness or management, taxed them at once two hundred and fifty talents, and in the very presence of the officers who brought it, threw it into the lap of his harlot Lamia.

Ælian. L. 3.

C. 17.

Diog. Laert.

Vit. Demet.

Phal.

Plut. Vit.

Demet.

Athenæ. L. 6.

P. 253.

Diod. Sic.

L. 20.

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It was mightily the fashion of Alexander's captains to be very bountiful—*of liberty to Greece*;—Telesphorus came with it from Antigonus, and Polyperchon sent it from the Peloponnese, and then the Romans followed the example, and proclaimed it by Flaminius—“*Civitas ea autem in libertate est posita, quæ suis stat*” CHAP. XII.  
Liv. Hist. L. 35.  
 “*viribus, non ex alieno arbitrio pendet.*”

Qq

APPENDIX:



**A P P E N D I X:**

**CONTAINING**

**NOTES IN ILLUSTRATION**

**OF THE**

**HISTORY OF ATHENS, &c. &c.**



# A P P E N D I X.

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## N O T E S, &c.

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### B O O K T H E F I R S T.

#### N O T E [1.] Page 1.

’ΩΣΠΕΡ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἰδῆ ἑαυτοῖς ἀφομοῖωσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἕλω καὶ τὰς  
εἰς τῶν θεῶν. “As men feign to themselves persons and figures  
“ of their gods similar to their own, so too, do they, lives and actions.  
Aristot. Pol. L. 1. C. 3.

CHAP.  
1.

#### N O T E [2.] Page 4.

Sed tamen me sustinui, multa minui, multa sustuli, complura ne  
posui quidem; sic tot malis cum vinctum, tum fractum studium scri-  
bendi, quid dignum auribus aut probabile potest afferri?

Cicer. Ep. fam. Lib. 6. Ep. 7.

#### N O T E [3.] Page 4.

Nec defuere temporibus Augusti dicendis decora ingenia, donec  
gliscente adulatione detererentur.

Tacit. Hist. 1.

N O T E





## NOTE [4.] Page 5.

Quippe adulationi fœdum crimen servitutis, malignitati falsa species libertatis inest. Tacit. Ann. 4. for a further account of Cremutius Cordus, vid. Senec. Consol. ad Marciam, &c.

## NOTE [5.] Page 6.

Memoriâ rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere, nec priùs sedari, quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adæquaverit. Sallust. Bell. Jugurth.

## NOTE [6.] Page 9.

The following passage relative to the subject I have undertaken to investigate, is remarkable.—'Ενίοι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας πειρομένηται μνήμην, ἔγω δὲ ταύτας μὲν εἰδῶ. τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Θηβαίων ἔκτανι τοῖς πολλοῖς προσδεῖσθαι λόγῳ πεπεισμαι, διὰ τὸ μὴ τὰς αὐξησεις ἐσχηχέναι κατὰ λόγον, μὴ τὰς ἀκμας ἐπιμόνους, μὴ τὰς μεταβάλλας ἐνηλλαχέναι μείριως, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐκ προσπαΐας τίνος τυχῆς συν χαίρῳ λαμψάνας, τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον, εἴη δοκούσας ἀκμῇ, καὶ μελλόντας ἐνὶ ὕλῃ, τῆς ἐναντίας πείραν ἐληφέναι μεταβάλλας.—  
 " Some writers have taken the republic of Athens as their subject; I  
 " shall scarcely touch upon it; being persuaded that little use can re-  
 " sult from a consideration of the history of Athens, or of that of  
 " Thebes; inasmuch as their elevation, severally, was sudden and out  
 " of the common course of events; there was no permanency in their  
 " grandeur, nor was there gradation in their decline; but as from a  
 " short gleam of fortune, they merely brightened in an occasional  
 " point of view; and (as has been observed) when most appearing to  
 " enjoy prosperity, both in possession and in view, they ever suffered  
 " the most fatal reverse." Polyb. Hist. Lib. 6.

From

From the above passage it appears, that Polybius considered the Athenian history as affording few grounds of political theory :—the very reasons which he hath advanced, are reasons which another writer might have adduced to support a contrary tenet : such a one might have said, “ Had the course of the Athenian republic been slow, regular, and “ progressive, I should have no particular inducement to select this from “ other common-place subjects of history ; but the general revolutions “ of the Athenian republic were numerous, its vicissitudes of fortune and “ power frequent, its aggrandisement glorious ; its abasement terrible ; “ and the changes so sudden, that the cause and the effect appear at once “ in view, and give each political lesson its full force and example.”

Sallust too carps at the republic of Athens and its history ; says he, “ Atheniensium res gestæ, sicut ego existimo, amplæ magnificæque fuere, “ verum aliquanto minores tamen quam famâ ferantur, sed quia prove- “ nire ibi scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium “ facta pro maxumis laudantur, ita eorum, qui ea fecere, virtus, tanta “ habetur, quam verbis ea potuere extollere præclara ingenia.”—— Sallust. Bell. Catalin.

Respecting this invidious suggestion of the Roman, I content myself with the observation, that a history of that republic is highly worthy attention ; the institutions of which nurtured and produced those many “ *præclara ingenia*.”

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NOTE [7.] Page 10.

THIS and the next chapter are in a certain degree applicable to the first population, and to the ruder commencements of every nation, as well as of Greece : however successively a history may be diversified by different laws, different customs, arts, and produce, or by fortuitous relations ; before those laws were instituted, those customs adopted, arts invented, produce cultivated, or those exterior relations studied, and turned to account, the narrative must be simple and homogeneous ; it must be a mere philosophic detail of human nature ; and thus with some little

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little variation from local circumstances, the history of the beginnings of one people, is the history of the beginnings of all; the progress of some tardy, of some accelerated, but the same the course of the East and of the West, of Persia and of Greece: *πολλα ἂν καὶ ἄλλα τίς ἀποδεξίει το παλαιὸν ἐλληνικὸν ὁμοῖοτρόπα τῷ νῦν βαρβαρικῷ διαίτῳ μένον.* Thucyd. L. 1. Sect. 6.

As to what some visionary minds have suggested of a solitary state of nature, I agree with Aristotle, that to man “a state of nature,” is “a state of society;”—*φύσει μὲν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπος ζῶν πολιτικόν, διό καὶ μὴ δευρομένοι της παρ’ ἄλλων βοηθείας, ἔκ ἐλάττω ὀρέγονται τῷ συζῆν.*—“Man is by nature a sociable animal, and even did not a sentiment of mutual wants and assistance require it, yet would mankind herd and live together.”

Aristot. Pol. Lib. 3. Cap. 4.

Aristotle justly observes moreover, “that we are to judge of man in his state of advancement, and not in that of ignorance; a progress in knowledge being natural to him, and as that progress cannot have due advantage but in a state of society,” the philosopher’s induction is, “that the *unsocial* animal, man, (unsocial from nature, and not from contingency) cannot exist; such an animal must be either more or less than man:”—*ἢ ἀπόλις διὰ φύσιν καὶ ἢ διὰ τύχην ἦτοι φαῦλος ἐστίν, ἢ κρείττων, ἢ ἀνθρώπος.*

Aristot. Pol. L. 1. Cap. 2.

## NOTE [8.] Page 10.

Aristotle’s observation respecting the country of Greece is ingenious; and analogous inductions render it interesting:—*τα μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ψυχροῖς τόποις ἐθνῆ, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἑυρωπὴν θύμῃ μὲν ἐστὶ πληρῇ, δianoίας δὲ ἐνδεεστέρα καὶ τεχνῆς. διόπερ ἐλευθέρα μὲν διαίτελει μᾶλλον, ἀπολίτευτα δὲ, καὶ πλησίον ἀρχεῖν ἢ δυναμένα. τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, διανοητικὰ μὲν, καὶ τεχνικά τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀθύμα δὲ. διόπερ ἀρχομένα καὶ δελευδὸν ἀτελεῖ. Τὸ δὲ τῶν ἑλλήνων γένος ὥσπερ μεσεῦει κατὰ τὰς τῶπας, ἔτῳς ἀμφοῖν μέλει, καὶ γὰρ ἐνθύμον, καὶ διανοητικὸν ἐστὶ.* “Those nations situated in cold climates, as those for the most part of Europe, are fraught with courage, but are comparatively deficient in intellectual force and ingenuity; wherefore the spirit of their political institutions is free, but ill regulated, and they

“ they are by no means suited to the exercising extensive dominion ;  
 “ whereas the people of Asia, labour under imbecility of spirit, whilst  
 “ their minds are inventive and intelligent ; and thus they are generally  
 “ subjected and enslaved ; but Greece situated in a mean latitude,  
 “ bears a race of men, partaking the virtues of either,—the bold and  
 “ free spirit of the one, and the intellectual powers of the other,  
 “ people.”

Arist. Pol. L. 7. Cap. 7.

Livy hath a similar idea—“ frigida hæc omnis, duraque cultu, et  
 “ aspera plaga est, cultorum quoque ingenia terræ similia habet.”  
 Liv. Hist. 45. So too Herodotus in Calliope—φιλεῖν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλάκων,  
 μαλάκως γίγνεσθαι, ὃ γὰρ τοι τῆς αὔτης γῆς εἶναι καρπὸν τε θῆύμασον φύει καὶ  
 ἀνδρας ἀγαθους ἐς τὰ πολέμια. L. 9. sub. fin.

NOTE [9] Page 13.

Primæ frugiferos fœtus mortalibus ægris  
 Dediderunt quondam præclaro nomine Athenæ,  
 Et recreaverunt vitam, legesque rogârunt.

Lucret. Lib. 1.

Such too was the boast of Isocrates in his Panegyric (Patria subaud :)  
 ἡ πρώτη γὰρ καὶ νόμους ἐθέλει, καὶ πολιτείαν καλίστησαν, καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ τῶν τεχνῶν,  
 τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα τῷ βίῃ χρήσιμας, καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἡδονὴν μεμαχνημένας,  
 τὰς μὲν εὐρῆσα, τὰς δὲ δοκίμασασα, χρῆσθαι τοῖς λοιποῖς παρέδωκε. “ Our Coun-  
 “ try first instituted laws, and first state Policy, first too those Arts  
 “ necessary to the comfort of life, and first, those tending to the re-  
 “ fined pleasures, and having invented the one, and thereon imagined  
 “ the other, bequeathed them for posterity to enjoy.

Isocrat. Paneg.

NOTE [10] Page 13.

Aristotle, in the course of his reasoning on the distinctions of in-  
 tellectual and corporeal force, and the relative pre-  
 thereon founded, hath in one sentence, I think, set

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subject—τὸ μὲν γὰρ δυναμένον τῇ διανοίᾳ προῶραν ἀρχὸν φύσει καὶ διαποζόν  
 φύσει. τὸ δὲ δυναμένον τῇ σωματικῇ ταῦτα ποιῆν, ἀρχόμενον καὶ φύσει δῆλον, δια-  
 διαποζὸν καὶ δυνάμει ταῦτα συμφέρει. “ The being endowed with foresight  
 “ and intelligence is by nature formed to direct, and therefore to  
 “ command; the being enabled by corporeal force to execute and  
 “ give effect to these—(i. e. to what that foresight shall suggest, or  
 “ intelligence invent) is by nature framed for ministry and there-  
 “ fore for subjection; wherefore the relative situation is expedient to  
 “ either.” Aristot. Pol. L. 1.

Note (11) Page 14.

Macrobius in the seventeenth and following Chapter of his work, attempts to prove that all the *Dii superi* were in reality the same,—the Sun. The Theory of Apuleius is different;—

Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,  
 Mercurius, Jovis, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo.

Enn. Poet.

Cæterique id genus quorum nomina quidem nostris auribus jam diu cognita, possumus verò animis conjectare per varias utilitates in vitâ agendâ, animadversos in iis rebus, quibus eorum singuli curant. Apulei: de Deo Socrat. Without presuming to controvert the doctrine of Macrobius, or of more modern writers, as the very learned Bochart, Bryant, and others, I venture to coincide, in a great measure, with the opinion of Apuleius—“ that these names were deified,—from the useful arts,—from the various benefactions and inventions conferred on mankind, which the holders thereof were distinguished by, and remembered for: The Sun may have been (and I allow it to be so proved) a most general object of worship in the remote ages, and in most parts of the globe;—But is it impossible, that the first heroic benefactor who started forth, and became the inventor of arts of ease and comfort, or, as it were the *Political Luminary* of his country, to which every eye was directed for beneficence and aid,—Is it improbable, that

He

*He* had some honours paid him in (perhaps the only temple) the temple of that celestial luminary, which his rude yet grateful followers, till then alone adored?—I say, is it improbable *that there have been other children of the Sun besides the Inca's of Peru?* and that the glories, the qualities, the epithets, the names, and the additions of the adopted fire, intermingled in the mythology of these mortal benefactors, whose blessings were diffusive and who *animated, cherished, and enlightened* a whole people? Or is it any ways necessary to deny their existence, to support any theory, or to explain any passage of the ancient writers? The worship of the sun, and of deified men have perhaps too been together blended with that of the pure spiritual being: the adoration of Neïtha, or ens summum of the Ægyptian Saitæ, is supposed to have been brought with them when they migrated into Attica, and thence forward to have been preserved in the worship to Ἀθηνῆ the Minerva of the Athenians, whose mysterious words in the comment of Procles on the Timæus are—τὰ ὅλα, καὶ τὰ ἰσσομένα, καὶ τὰ γεγόνότα ἐγώ εἰμι, καὶ τὸν ἔμμελλον ἄδειξ ἀπεκάλυψεν. “I am the present, and the past, and the future, and none have raised the veil that covers me!” words, which seem to have a holy reference to the true God, sempiternal, and beyond the ken of eye, or understanding! thus, it seems, from veneration towards mortal, towards celestial beings, and towards the supreme benefactor of all, a confusion hath crept into the sacred history of remote ages; and however accurately and learnedly the analysis of ancient mythology may have been discussed by various writers, I yet humbly conceive, that necessary data may have been too often rejected or omitted, and that the existence of *deified men* should almost in every case be allowed to co-operate with other objects of religion, for the clearly and justly elucidating the mysterious passages of the ancient poets and other writers. I repeat that my allusion is to the *Dii superi*. I by no means confound with *them*, those who were deified as *heroes*, and had a subordinate veneration and regard—τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ μὲν θεοῖς, τὰ δὲ ἡρώεσσιν. Arist. Pol. L. 7. C. 12.

## NOTE [12] Page 14.

Cendere cæperunt urbes, arcemque locare,  
 Præsidium Reges ipsi sibi, perfugiumque  
 Et pecudes, et agros divisere, atque dedere  
 Pro facie cujusque, et viribus, ingenioque. Lucret. L. 5.

Even appearance and physiognomy were motives of preference in the election of a chieftain, however little entitled to consideration in a choice, which other and more essential distinctions should properly direct; they notwithstanding, however had great weight in the ruder ages, and I remember in the history of the Saracens it is said, "that Mahomet was much indebted for success on his first outset, to a commanding aspect and piercing eye." Aristotle too mentions a people of Æthiopia who chose their king or chieftain from his bulk and beauty: καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἐὶ κατὰ μέγεθος διενέμοιτο τὰς ἀρχάς, ὥσπερ ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ φασὶ τινες, ἢ κατὰ κάλλος. Aristot. Pol. L. 4. Cap. 4.

## NOTE [13.] Page 15.

Θυμός γὰρ καὶ βελήσις, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπιθυμία καὶ γιγνομένοις ἐνθὺς ὑπαρχει παῖδιός. ὁ δὲ λογισμός καὶ ὁ νῦν προῖσιν ἐγγίνεσθαι πεφύκε. "Choice, will, and passion are prompt even in the child, but understanding and reasoning belong only to the adult." Aristot. Pol. L. 7. Cap. 15.

## NOTE [14.] Page 15.

ὥσπερ γὰρ τελευῶν βελτίστον τῶν ζῶων ἄνθρωπος ἐστὶ, ἔτω καὶ χωρίσθην νόμος καὶ δίκης, χειρίστον πάντων. χαλεπωτέρα γὰρ ἀδικία ἔχουσα ὅπλα. "As under such and such circumstances, man is the best of all created animals; so, not attending to the laws of reason and justice is he the worst; inas-  
 much

“ much as nought can be more terrible than the spirit to injure, with  
“ so many powers, to effect the injury,” Aristot. Pol. L. 1. Cap. 2.

C H A P.

II.

Polybius pursues the argument yet further—τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος δοκεῖ  
πανουργότατον εἶναι τῶν ζώων, πολὺν ἔχει λόγον τῇ φαυλοτάτῃ ὑπάρχειν. τα μὲν  
γὰρ ἄλλα ζῶα ταῖς τῇ σώματι ἐπιθυμίαις αἰσῶν δαλεύονται, διὰ μόνας ταύτας  
σφαλλεῖται, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, καὶ προσδεδοσποιημένον ἐκ ἥτιον διὰ τὴν  
ἀλδγισίαν, ἣ διὰ τὴν φύσιν ἀμαρτάνει. “ Man being the most ingenious, is  
“ therefore liable to be the most depraved of all animals; other ani-  
“ mals being subservient only to passions, alone err through them, but  
“ man following his phantasies may err from perversion of reason, as  
“ well as from influence of passion.” Polyb. Hist. 7.

NOTE [15.] Page 16.

— — — — — ponere leges  
Ne quis fur esset, neu latro, neu quis adulter.

Horat. Sat. 1.

NOTE [16.] Page 16.

βασιλείας μὲν οὖν εἶδῃ ταῦτα, . . . μία μὲν ἡ περὶ τὰς Ἡρώικας χρόνους, αὐτὴ δ' ἡ  
ἐκούτων μὲν, ἐπὶ τίσι δ' ὀρισμένοις. ἐράτητος γὰρ ἦν καὶ δικαστὴς ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ  
τῶν πρὸς τὰς θείας κύριος. “ Of the various kinds of monarchy, a distinct  
“ one was that of the heroic ages; the obedience of the subject was  
“ voluntary, and the power of the king limited and defined, under  
“ the heads of what was allowed to the offices of general, of judge,  
“ or of priest, all of which centered in the person of the king.

Aristot. Pol. L. 3. Cap. 11.

NOTE [17.] Page 16.

It was a fine observation of Antigonus to his son; ἐκ εἰσθα ὃ πᾶσι τῇ  
βασιλείᾳ ἡμῶν ἰσδοῦν εἶναι δαλεῖν. “ Knowest thou not my son, that to  
“ be a king is to be a splendid slave.”

Ælian. Var. Hist. L. 2. Cap. 20.



## NOTE [18.] Page 19.

CHAP.  
III.

Ἐυπατριδαι, γεωμόροι, καὶ δημιῦργοι. Diodor. Sic. L. 1. Sect. 28.  
In the 24th sect. of the same book, Diodorus mentions a fourth class, dividing the countrymen into those "who tilled the ground," and those, "who tended the flocks."

## NOTE [19.] Page 19.

Τό Κάρικον ἦν ἔθνος λογιμώτατον ἀπάντων ἐθνῶν, καὶ τῶν αἵμα τὸν χρόνον, καὶ μακρῶ μαλίστα. Herodot. L. 1.

## NOTE [20.] Page 21.

The knights errant of Greece did not satisfy themselves with mere feats of love, their depredations extended to wealth, as well as to beauty. Προσπὶ πόλεις πόλεσι ἀτειχίστοις καὶ κατὰ κώμας οἰκῶμέναις ἤρπάζον, καὶ τὸν πλείονα τῆ βίης ἐνέϋθον ἐποιούσιν. . . . ἀν' ἐχθρῶν πῶ ἀσχυρὴν τὰς τὰ ἔργα, φερὸντος δὲ καὶ δόξης μᾶλλον.—"Falling on the unfortified towns, "and scattered villages, they passed their lives in rapine and plunder . . . the above practices, far from being discreditable, even "bearing a character of honour and distinction." Thucyd. L. 1.

## NOTE [21.] Page 24.

CHAP.  
IV.

IT was this long journey, and absence of Theseus, that gave rise to the fable of his going with Pirithoüs to the shades below; his return seeming as it were a return from the grave: καὶ Θῆσεν δὲ καὶ Πειριθεῶν μακρὰς ἡμέρας ἐν γράϊας ὑπομειναντας, κατὰλίπειν δόξαν περὶ ἐαυτῶν ὡς ἐν μῆθου κατὰβάντας. Strabo. L. 1.

## NOTE [22.] Page 26.

Τῷ Μεδονίδας καὶ ἀρχὴς ἀφείλοντο ὁ δῆμος τῆς ἐξουσίας, καὶ μετέστησαν εἰς ἀρχὴν ὑπεύθυνον. Pausan. Messen. Aristotle mentions the being ἀνευθυνός. "unaccountable for any conduct, as the distinction of despotism." Τῷ αὐτῷ δ' ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τυράννιδά μοναρχίαν, ἢ τὶς ἀναπευθύνος ἀρχεῖ. Aristot. Pol. L. 4. Cap. 10.

## NOTE [23.] Page 27.

The word not being familiar in our language, it may be necessary to observe, that "Plutocracy" signifies power founded in wealth, or those "powerful from wealth:" the word Πλουτοκρατία is often to be met with in the political treatises of Plato, Aristotle, and others; no substitute readily occurring to me I ventured to adopt it.

## NOTE [24.] Page 28.

Draco Atheniensis, vir bonus, multaque esse prudentiâ existimatus est, jurisque divini et humani peritus fuit; is Draco leges quibus Athenienses uterentur primus omnium tulit; in illis legibus furem, cujus modicumque furti, supplicio capitis puniendum esse, et alia nimis severè censuit sanxitque. Aul. Gell. L. 11. Cap. 8. From their unqualified severity, his laws were said by Demades to have been written not in ink but blood. Some few are preserved by Plutarch and others; but they are not worth reciting; in my disregard of him as a lawgiver, I am fully warranted by the opinion of Aristotle, in Rhet. L. 2. Cap. 23.

NOTE

## NOTE [25.] Page 31.

CHAP.

V.



PLATO, in his *Politeia*, considers the revolution of an Oligarchy as necessarily passing through a mere Ploutocracy to a Democracy; and most probably he had the history of Athens then in view, as the particulars, he enumerates, tally closely with the actual circumstances of the republic at this æra:—'Ουκοῦν μέγαδ' ἀλλεὶ μὲν τρόπον τινα τοιοῦτον ἐξ Ὀλιγαρχίας εἰς Δημοκρασίαν, δι' ἀπλήστια τῶ προκειμένων ἀγαθῶν, τῶ ὡς πλεσιώϊστον γινέσθαι. πῶς δὲ; ἅτε, οἶμαι, ἀρχοῦντες ἐν αὐτῇ, οἱ ἀρχοῦντες διὰ τό πολλά κεκλῆσθαι, ἐκ ἐδεῶσιν ἔργειν νόμῳ των νέων ὅσοι ἂν ἀκολασοὶ γιγνώσκειν, μὴ ἐξεῖναι αὐτοῖς ἀναλίσχειν τέ καὶ ἀπολλύναι τὰ ἑαυτῶν, ἵνα ὠνέμενοι τὰ των τοιούτων, καὶ εἰσθανιζόμενοι, ἐτι πλοῦσιώτεροι, καὶ ἐνίμωτεροι γιγνώσκειν. " An Oligarchy thus after  
 " a certain manner falls into a Democracy, from the avidity of its  
 " constituents in the pursuit of what they deem the chief good, inordinate wealth: in what manner? Why, as I am of opinion, from  
 " the ruling men, those ruling from the dynasty of wealth, permitting  
 " the younger citizens, who are prone to dissipation, to indulge in  
 " every excess without enforcing the laws against them; and this in  
 " order that their lavish profusion may reduce them ultimately to seek  
 " resources in those usurious practices, by which themselves may become yet more rich, and more powerful." Plat. Polit. L. 8.

—And then bringing into view, at once the enervate luxury and oppressive pride of *the few*, the broken fortunes of *some*, and the desperate servitude of *the many*; Plato facilitates a deduction, intimating sedition and insurrection, progressive to the revolution and consequences above stated.

## NOTE [26.] Page 32.

The first class of citizens according to the institutions of Solon consisted of those, whose revenues amounted to five hundred medimni, or bushels of corn or fruit; the second, of those who had a rent of three hundred bushels, and who kept a horse; the third, of those who had two hundred, and the fourth and last class, of all those whose revenue

nue was of less amount, and who supported themselves by menial arts and labour; nor did these distinctions affect the spirit of the republican constitution, watchful over the freedom and rights of all its citizens indiscriminately; there yet was left a virtual equality; says Montesquieu, “ Il suffit que l’on établisse, un cens qui réduise au fixe les différences a un certain point, après quoi c’est a des loix particulières a égaliser, pour ainsi dire, les inégalités, par les charges qu’elles imposent aux riches, et le soulagement qu’elles accordent aux pauvres.” L’Esprit des Loix. L. 5. Chap. 5. this was precisely the case at Athens, vid. Isocrat. Orat. *περι αβιδοσεως*. Xenoph. Pol. &c. &c.

NOTE [27.] Page 34.

Πολίτης δ’ ἄπλως ὑδένι τῷ ἄλλῳ ὀρίζεται μᾶλλον, ἢ τῷ μείλειν κρίσεως καὶ ἀρχῆς. . . . διόπερ ὁ λεχθεὶς ἐν μὲν δημοκρασίᾳ μαλίστα ἐστὶ πολίτης.—“ A citizen can by nothing be so much distinguished; as by a participation of a political and judicial capacity, wherefore a citizen in a democratic government, may be said to be more a citizen than any other.” Aristot. Pol. L. 3. C. 1. His definition, Lib. 3. Cap. 8. is at once more full and correct, and comes nearer to a description of Solon’s citizen.—Πολίτης δὲ κοινὴ μὲν ὁ μείλιχων τῷ ἀρχεῖν καὶ ἀρχίσθαι. ἐστὶ καὶ ἑκάστην πολιτείαν ἑτέρος, πρὸς δὲ τὴν αἰσῆν, ὁ δοταμένος καὶ προαιρέμενος ἀρχίσθαι καὶ ἀρχεῖν πρὸς τὸν βίον τὸν κατ’ αἰσῆν. “ Generally speaking, a citizen is one partaking equally of subordination and power; the definition may be accommodated to different states, but in one the best constituted, the citizen is one competent to, and occasionally candidate for, every office in proportion to his estimation and good life.”

Aristot. Pol. L. 3. Cap. 8.

NOTE [28.] Page 34.

The paying the citizens a certain stipend when exercising the function of jurymen, I am well aware has been attributed to Pericles; but the words of Aristotle may be otherwise construed;—τὰ δὲ δικάσθηα μισ-

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V.

*ἡ πόλις κατέστησε Περικλῆς.* Aristot. Pol. L. 2. Cap. 10. The perversion of the judicatory fee, is what I suspect of Pericles; and that he introduced recompence for attendance on public business and public trials; and this will explain the passage of Aristotle when he further adds,—*καὶ τῶτον δὴ τον τρόπον ἱκανος τῶν δημαγωγῶν πρόηγαγεν αὐξῶν εἰς τὴν νῦν Δημοκρατίαν.*—The demagogues, whilst they studied merely to ingratiate themselves with the people, by bringing more business and more profit to the assembly, brought on the further consequence of extending the power of the people, as well as their own; and Aristotle, Lib. 6. Cap. 2. considers such as one obvious cause of the ruin of the republic; the people, in proportion as they became more idle, lascivious, and corrupt, arrogating to themselves a right of assembly, and judgment, on questions beyond their just province, merely that they might receive the conventional stipend.

#### NOTE [29.] Page 35.

The accusation in Æschines's oration against Ctesiphon, was chiefly that he had not rendered account to the people of his conduct whilst in office.

#### NOTE [30.] Page 36.

Solon's law relative to conspiracies has been a favourite subject of explanation and controversy: Aulus Gellius quotes the saying of the philosopher Favorinus;—"that the case provided for was similar to that of a quarrel between two brothers, when the third brother interfering not, strangers might come in, and take advantage of the dissension;" but the argument of the text is undoubtedly the most weighty in favour of this law; for the success of treachery is generally founded on the indolence or unwariness of its object.

#### NOTE

## NOTE [31.] Page 37.

Σολωνα μίξαντα καλῶς τὴν πολιτείαν, ἵνα γὰρ τὴν μὲν ἐν Ἀρείοπαγῳ βουλὴν, ὀλιγαρχικόν. τὸ τε τὰς ἀρχὰς αἵρετας, Ἀριστοκρατικόν. τὰ τε δικαστήρια δημοτικόν.

Aristot. Pol. L. 2. Cap. 10.

. . . . . Παρεμβάσεις, τυράννεις μὲν βασιλείας. ὀλιγαρχία δὲ, Ἀριστοκρατίας. Δημοκρατία δὲ πολιτείας. πρὸς δὲ τῷ κοινῷ λυσίτελοῦν ἑδεμία αὐτῶν. *ibid.*

. . . ὅταν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος πρὸς το κοινόν πολιτευῇται συμφέρον καλεῖται τὸ κοινόν ὄνομα πάντων πολιτείων, πολιτεία. Aristot. Pol. L. 3. Cap. 5.

## NOTE [32.] Page 37.

. . . . ἡ γὰρ αὕτη πολιτεία τότε ἦν, καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν Ἀριστοκρατία, ἐν ἣ νῦν πολιτεύομεθα, καὶ τὸν αἰ χρόνον ὡς τα πολλά. καλεῖ δὲ ὁ μὲν αὐτὴν Δημοκρατίαν, ὁ δὲ ἄλλο, ὃ ἂν χαίρη. ἐστὶ δὲ ἀληθὲς, μὲν εὐδοξίας πλῆθος Ἀριστοκρατία.

Platon. Dial. Menexen.

## NOTE [33.] Page 38.

. . . . ἔδε των νόμων φρονιζέσσι γεγραμμένων, ἡ ἀγράφων, ἵνα δὴ μὴδαμὴ μὴδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἡ-δισπότης. Platon. Polit. L. 6.

## NOTE [34.] Page 39.

. . . Ἐυρίσκω δὲ ταῦτην ἂν μόνον γενομένην (προσόδου) καὶ τῶν μελλοντικῶν ἀποτρέπην, καὶ παρόντων κακῶς ἀπαλλάγην, ἣν ἐβελήσωμεν ἐκείνην τὴν Δημοκρατίαν ἀναλάβειν, ἣν Σόλων μὲν ὁ δημοκλιᾶτος γιγνομένης ἐνομόθείησε. Κλεισθένης δὲ, ὁ αὐτὸς τυράννης ἐκβάλλον, καὶ τὸν δῆμὸν καταγὰγον, πάλιν ἐξαρχῆς κατεῆσαν. Isocrat. Archid. oratio:—there was such a confused use made of the word Δημοκρατία by the ancients, that no good inference can be drawn of the original institution of Athenian government from Isocrates, or even from Solon's application of it:—in another passage of his works

CHAP. V. Isocrates says—Λυκῦργος τὴν τε Δημοκρατίαν κατὰ τῆς αἰῶνος παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀριστοκρατίαν μεμιγμένην, ἣν περ ἦν παρ' ἡμῖν.—i. e. “Lycurgus having instituted for “them, (the Lacedæmonians) a *mixture* of democracy and aristocracy “like to ours.” Isoc. Panath.

This was a constitution of government founded on the best principles, those of *virtue* and *freedom*; Αριστοκρατίας μὲν γὰρ ὅρος ἀρίστη, δὴ μὲν δεῖ ἐλευθέρια. Arist. Pol. L. 4 Cap. 8. Aristotle, as hath been observed, in one place treats the democracy as a mere perversion or excentricity of a political constitution; and in another place he says—ἔστι γὰρ ἡ πολιτεία, ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπῆν, μίξις ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ δημοκρατίας, εἰσάσσει δὲ καλεῖν τὰς μὲν ἀποκλιναίας, ὡς πρὸς τὴν δημοκρατίαν, πολιτείας· τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν, ἀριστοκρατίας· “a republic properly speaking is a mixture of oligarchy “and democracy; when the principle of the oligarchy predominates, “the term applied is *aristocracy*; when the tendency is to a democracy, “the name given is *republic*.” From the passages above cited, it should appear that a democracy in itself was scarcely acknowledged as a practical constitution of government by the ancient political writers: and thus it seems to me,—for Aristotle when in his fourth book, he investigates the subject of a *democracy* as a good and genuine constitution of state, evidently uses that *term* for *republic*, as the very definitions explain; and as the purpose of this note is to prove that *democracy* is ever used in that sense, when applied to the common-wealth of Athens; and that a confusion of language and ideas has arisen from the using the word Δημοκρατία sometimes in a simple, and sometimes in a qualified sense, I cannot better elucidate the matter in question, than by adducing the definitions of Aristotle alluded to.

1. Δημοκρατία μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ πρώτη μὲν ἡ λεγομένη μάλιστα κατὰ τὸ ἴσον. ἴσον γὰρ φησὶν ὁ νόμος, ὁ τῆς τοιαύτης δημοκρατίας τὸ μηδὲν μᾶλλον ὑπαρχειν τῶν ἀπέρους ἢ τῶν ὑπέρους·

2. Ἄλλο δὲ τὸ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀπὸ τιμημάτων εἶναι, βραχίων δὲ τῶν ὀλίγων·

3. Ἐτερον εἶδος δημοκρατίας τὸ μίλιναι ἀπαλίας τῶν πολιτῶν, ὅσοι ἀνευπύθουσι, ἀρχειν δὲ τὸν νόμον·

4. Ἐτερον δὲ εἶδος δημοκρατίας, τὸ πᾶσι μίλιναι τῶν ἀρχῶν, εἴαν μόνον ἡ πολίτης, ἀρχειν δὲ τὸν νόμον·

5. Ἐτερον δὲ εἶδος δημοκρατίας, τ' ἄλλα μὲν εἶναι ταυτά, κύριον δ' εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος,

πλήθος, καὶ μὴ τον νόμον. τῆτο δε γίνεσθαι ὅταν τὰ ψηφίσματα κύρια ᾖ ἄλλα μὴ ὁ νόμος.

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V.

“ The first sort of democracy, is that instituted on the strictest principles of equality; in such a democracy law and policy equalize the claims of all, and the poor and the rich equally participate the administration of that law and policy.”

“ The second sort of democracy is that, wherein the government is limited to the possessors of a certain property by census, the offices of government being held for a defined and but short period.

“ The third sort of democracy is that, wherein every citizen may partake of the government, provided that he is not at the time amenable or accountable; and wherein law governs supreme.”

“ The fourth, that democracy wherein every citizen unconditionally partakes of the government, and wherein law governs supreme.”

“ The fifth, that democracy wherein the people are supreme and not the law; wherein, the contingent decrees of the assembly supersede, or are substituted for a constitutional code.”

Aristot. Pol. Lib. 4. Cap. 4.

The third and fourth species are nearly the same, with a small but necessary amendment in the third; and Aristotle Cap. 4. lib. 6. of the same work, enumerates but four kinds of democracy and prefers the first above cited; the principle of it, is indeed the simple and genuine one; but if we connect with it, that part of the *second* which requires a certain rate of property in the magistracy; and that part of the *third* which renders the executive authority pure, immaculate, and unsuspected; and those parts of the *third* and *fourth* which make established law supreme both in judicial cases, and internal polity; and that part of the *fifth* which makes the assembly of the people supreme, as far as relates to exterior and political contingency;—we shall then have a constitution of government, nearly such as Solon instituted, and as Isocrates described by the term *Democracy*,—Aristotle by that of *Republic*,—Plato by that of *Aristocracy*.

NOTE



“ ingratiating, and just; he frames good laws, he attends to the duly  
 “ enforcing them, he is fond of agrarian restrictions, and he guards  
 “ equally against the poverty, and superabundance of any, that being  
 “ necessitated to daily employment and industry, they may have less  
 “ time to plot against his government :” *ἵνα πένητες γιγνομένοις πρὸς τὸ  
 καὶ ἡμέραν ἀναγκάζονται εἶναι, καὶ ἥτιον αὐτῷ ἐπιβελουσι.* Platon. Pol. Lib.  
 8. thus to employ the citizens Pisistratus built the Temple of Jupiter  
 Olympius. Aristot. Pol. L. 1. Cap. 11. So too Ælian, Πείσιςτρατος,  
 ὅτι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐγκράτος ἐγένετο, μετεπεμψε τὰς ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἀποσχολάζοντας,  
 καὶ ἐπυνθάνετο, ἵτι δῆποτέ τις το αἴτιον το αἰλύνει αὐτὸν ;—καὶ ἐπέλεγεν,—ἡ μὲν σοι  
 τεθνήκε ζεύγος, παρ’ ἐμας λαβεῖν, ἀπιθὶ καὶ ἐργάζεαι. . . . δεδίως μὴ ἡσχόλη τῶν  
 ἐπιβούλων τεκῇ. “ Pisistratus having usurped the government, was wont  
 “ to chide those loitering in the public places of the city, and asked,  
 “ Why so idle? have you lost your team?—I will give you another,—  
 “ go and work,—fearful lest idleness begat designs against his state.”

Ælian. Var. Hist. Lib. 9. Cap. 25.

#### NOTE [39.] Page 46.

. . . τριῖν δὲ τυράννεις ἢ τῶν Πείσιςτρατιδων Ἀθηναῖον, ἐκ ἐγένετο δὲ συνεχῆς,  
 δὲ γὰρ ἐφύγε Πείσιςτρατος τυραννῶν, ὥς ἐτεσι τριάκοντα καὶ τρισίν, ἐπὶ  
 καὶ δέκα εἴη τῶν ἐτυραννέουσιν. Aristot. Pol. Lib. 5. Cap. 12. So that  
 the interval of sixteen years out of thirty three, from the usurpation to  
 the decease of Pisistratus, was, at two different times, filled up by an  
 interregnum, or anarchy, or civil commotion, or usurpation of Mega-  
 cles;—no particular account of which remain.

#### NOTE [40.] Page 48.

In making Hipparchus the Elder I have followed Plato,—Ἱππαρχῶ  
 ὅς τῶν Πείσιςτρατιδων παῖδων ἦν πρεσβύτατος, καὶ σοφώτατος. Hipparch. Dialog.  
 Ælian says the same, var. Hist. Lib. 8. Cap. 2. and yet the authority of  
 Thucydides

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Thucydides was before him. Ἰππίας μὲν πρεσβυτάτος ὢν ἦρχε τῶν Πεισιστράτου υἱῶν. Hist. Lib. 1. sect. 10.—Pausanias in Atticis seems to side with Thucydides. καὶ Πεισιστράτος καὶ ὁ παῖς Ἰππίας φιλάνθρωποι μᾶλλον καὶ σοφώτεροι, ἐς ὃ διὰ τὴν Ἰππάρχου θάνατον Ἰππίας ἐχρῆσθαι θυμῷ. It is of little importance whether the king, or the king's brother was killed; the political consequences of the fact were the same.

NOTE [41.] Page 49.

... δίο δὲ τῶν (Σόλωνος) νομοθεσιῶν καλοπλίσθεντες τὰς ψυχὰς, Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων κατὰλύειν ἐπιχειρήσαν τὴν τῶν Πεισιστράτιδων ἀρχήν. Diodor. Sic. excerpt. περί ἀρείης.

NOTE [42.] Page 49.

Ἐκὼς γὰρ αἶν τὸν ἀρίστου ἀνδρῶν πάντων, ἑστία ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκτός τῶν ἐκθότων νοημάτων ἑστῆσι. Herodot. Thalia.

NOTE [43.] Page 50.

Comunque se sia io non giudicho, ne giudichero mai esser' difetto, difendere alcuni opinioni con le ragioni senza volervi usare o' l'autorità, e' la forza. Machiav. Disc. Lib. 1. Cap. 58.

NOTE [44.] Page 50.

"Nec quisquam tibi fidelior militum fuit dum amari meruisti."

Tacit. Ann. 15.

—dubitavit (Nero) an cuncta vestigalia omitti juberet idque pulcherrimum donum generi mortalium daret. Ann. 13.

.... "privatas inimicitias non vi principis ulciscar." Ann. 3.

.... "ne verterent sapienter reperta et semper placita; satis onerum principibus, satis potentiae; minui jura, quoties gliscat auctoritas; neque utendum imperio, ubi legibus agi posset." ibid.

hujus

hujus igitur pueritia blanda, ingeniosa, parentibus affabilis, parentum amicis jucunda, populo accepta, grata fenatui.

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Ælian. Spart. vit. Caracall.

NOTE [45.] Page 52.

—ἐλευθέριας δὲ καὶ φιλίας ἀληθῆς τυραννικῇ φύσει αἰετὶ ἀγεῦτος.

Plat. Pol. 8.

NOTE [46.] Page 52.

The classic student is so accustomed to read of the libidinous depravity of the ancients, that in general disgust he may not have paid due attention to the subject here treated of, nor have sufficiently discriminated two connections, as widely distant as the extremes of vice and virtue.

The love of the old man for the young alluded to in the text, had its pretended source in divine example, for such was the explanation of the rape of Ganymede; καὶ ἐγωγεὶ δὲ φημι, καὶ Γανυμήδην ἐ σώματος, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς ἔνεκα, ὑπο Διὸς εἰς Ὀλύμπου ἀνενεχθῆναι. “Ganymede, I say, not from excellence of corporeal, but of mental and spiritual beauty, was by the “God taken to his own habitation.” Xenoph. Sympof. Cap. 8.

Plutarch in an elegant passage of his *Dissertationes Eroticæ*, thus describes the pure tendency of these connections, οὕτως ἔρωσ ὁ γνήσιος ὁ παιδίκος ἐστίν, ὃ πύθῃ φίλων, ὡς εἶπεν τὸν παρθένιον Ἀνακρεων, ὃ δὲ μύρων ἀναπλέως καὶ γεγανῶμενος, ἀλλὰ λίβον αὐτὸν ὁψεί ἐν σχολαῖς φιλοσοφίης, ἢ πᾶσι περὶ γυμνασίου, καὶ παλαιστράης περὶ θύρα νέων ὅξυ μαλά καὶ γενναῖον ἐγκελευομένοι πρὸς ἀρετὴν τοῖς ἀξιοῖς ἐπιμελείας. “The pure genuine affection is that for young men, “not glowing with passion, as the feminine Cupid of Anacreon, nor “nourished with delicacies and perfumes, nor embellished by dress; “but you will see it unperturbed and unadorned attending the voice “of philosophy, or exercising in the schools of manly wisdom and “manly labour; there will you see this chaste love inspiring deeds of

T t

difficulty,

CHAP. "difficulty, and sentiments of virtue, into the breast of every youth  
VII. "whom it shall deem worthy its lessons and superintendance."

Plut. Differt. Erot.

In the life too of Lycurgus it is explained, that no jealousies, such as attend a less worthy passion, ever mingled in these attachments, but were superseded by a spirit of virtuous emulation. ἀρχὴν ἐποιεῖτο φιλίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ τῶν ἐρασθέντες, καὶ διάλειπεν, κοινὴ σπουδάζοντες, ὅπως ἀρίστον ἀπεργασαίητο τὸν ἐρωμένον. "If two old men attached themselves to the same youth, it was a cement of mutual friendship, and far from strife; the rivalry merely begat a contention, which should render the object of predilection most wise and most virtuous." Plutarch. vit. Lycurg. The following passage of Ælian, places the matter in the clearest light. — ἄλλον δὲ τινὰ ἀνδρὰ κάλον ἔδενος ἐρῶντα τῶν καλῶς πεφυκότων, καὶ τέτοιον ἐζημίωσαν (Σπαρτιάται) ὅτι χρήστος ὢν ἔδενος ἦρᾶ. "among the Spartans, if a man of worth and virtue, bestowed not his affections on some well-born youth, he was subject to penalties, inasmuch as he might be useful and was not so." Var. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 10.—in fact they were mere preceptors, a troublesome office, which the state fined those who refused or declined.

#### NOTE [47.] Page 53.

—ἦς δὲ Ἰωνίας καὶ ἄλλοθι πολλαχῇ ἀισχρόν νενομίσαι, ὅσοι ὑπὸ βάρβαροις οἰκῶσι, . . . δια τὰς τυράννιδας ἀισχρον τέτο γέ καὶ ἡγέ φιλοσοφία, καὶ φιλογυμνασία, καὶ γὰρ ὅμαι συμφέρει τοῖς ἀρχῆσιν φρονήματα μεγάλα ἐγίνεσθαι τῶν ἀρχομένων, καὶ φιλίας ισχύρας καὶ κοινωνίας. Platon. Sympos.

#### NOTE [48.] Page 54.

. . καὶ τοὶ Πausanias γὰρ "Ἀγαθὸς τῆ ποιήσε ἔρασης ἀπολογεῖται ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀκράσια συνκυλινδουμένων, ἔρηκεν, ὡς καὶ στρατεύμα αἰκλιμῶτατον, ἂν γενέσθαι ἐκ παιδίκων τε καὶ ἐράων." Xenoph. Sympos. Cap. 8.

#### NOTE

## NOTE [49.] Page 58.

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Besides the passage alluded to of Herodotus, Ed. Gronov. p. 309, mentioning the encrease of the tribes, there is a subsequent one, page 211, wherein Clisthenes is said to have enrolled in those tribes certain new *Demi* or districts of people, and this tallies with the account of Aristotle in his Politics, Lib. 3. cap. 1. the passage, “ ἢν τε τὸν δῆμον “ προσθεμένος, πολλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀντιστάσεων.” I have placed to either account generally, and the construction I think, taken in a full and relative view, warrants not a more confined acceptance.

## NOTE [50.] Page 61.

—Λακεδαιμόνιος δὲ τῆς καλλίστης πολιτείας ὅτι μάλιστα δημοκρατῶμενοι τυγχάνουσιν. Isocrat. Orat. Arcopag.

## NOTE [51.] Page 61.

πᾶσα πολιτεία ψυχή τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχουσα δύναμις, ὅσην πῆρ ἐν σώματι φράνησις.—“ a political constitution may be termed the soul of the “ state,—having a force therein as mind in body.”

Isocrat. Panath.

The following sentence of Aristotle is a proper comment on the above passage—ἡ δὲ πολιτεία, τῶν ἀρχῶν τάξις ἐστὶ.

Politica, Lib. 4. Cap. 4.

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NOTE

## NOTE [52] Page 61.

ἔγω μιν τὰτο αἰεὶ πῶς νομίζω, οἷοι τινες οἱ προφάται ὄσι, τοιαύτας καὶ περὶ λείας γίγνεσθαι. Xenoph. περὶ προσόδων.

## NOTE [53.] Page 62.

. . . . vedesi ancora nelle sue elezioni ai magistrati fare di lunga migliore elezione che un principe, ne mai si persuaderà ad un popolo che sia bene tirare alla dignità un uomo infame e di corrotti costumi; il che, facilmente e per mille vie si puo persuader ad un principe.

Machiav. Discors. Lib. 1.

Le peuple est admirable pour choisir ceux a qui il doit confier quelque partie de son autorité; Il n'a à se determiner que des choses qu'il ne peut ignorer, et des faits qui tombent sous les sens; il scait très-bien qu'un homme a été souvent à la guerre, qu'il a eu tels ou tels succès, il est donc très-capable d'elire un general;—il scait qu'un juge est assez assidu, que beaucoup des gens se retirent de son tribunale contens de lui, qu'on ne l'a pas convaincu de corruption, en voilà assez pour qu'il elise un preteur: . . . . toutes ces choses sont des faits dont le peuple s'instruit mieux dans la place publique, qu'un monarque dans son palais. . . . si l'on pouvait douter de la capacité naturelle qu'a le peuple pour discerner le merite, il n'aurait qu'à jetter les yeux sur cette suite étonnante de choix étonnans, que firent les Atheniens et les Romains, ce qu'on n'attribuera pas sans doute au hazard.

L. Esprit des Loix, Lib. 2. Chap. 2.

So too Machiavel,—il quale (il pop. Rom.) in tante centinaia d'anni, in tanti elezioni di consoli e di tribuni non fece quattro elezioni, di chi quello n'aveffe di pentire.

Discors. su'l. 1<sup>mo</sup> dec. di Tit. Liv. L. 1. C. 58.

Aristotle likewise observes, that the great legislators of antiquity, all sprang from the middling rank of citizens, from the body of the people:

ple; and adduces the fact in proof of his assertion, that in popular governments—οἱ μέσοι—i. e. those men equally suited to command and to obey,—to chuse and to be chosen,—those above prejudices of the vulgar little, or vulgar great are alone to be found:—σημεῖον δὲ δεῖ νόμιζεν καὶ τὰς βελτίους νομῶδεις εἶναι τῶν μέσων πολιτῶν. Σόλων δὲ γὰρ ἦν τῶν, ὧν δὲ ἐκ τῆς ποιήσεως, καὶ λυκαργος, ὃ γὰρ ἦν βασιλεὺς, καὶ χαρῶνδας, καὶ σχεδὸν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἄλλων.

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Aristot. Pol. L. 4. C. 11.

NOTE [54.] Page 63.

Machiavel speaking of the *simple* forms of government, and of those *approximating* or *leaning* thereto, says, “Dico adunque che tutti “ i *detti modi* sono pestiferi per la *brevità* della vita che è nelle tre’ “ *buoni*, è per la malignità chi è nelle tre’ rei. Discors. L. 1. C. 2.

NOTE [55.] Page 64.

. . . . e perche io parlo de corpi misti come sono le republiché, dico che quelle alterazioni sono a salute, che le riducono verso i principii loro e però quelle sono meglio ordinate, ed hanno piu lunga vita, che mediante gli ordini fuoi, si possono stesso rinovare, 'ò vero che per accidente, fuori di detto ordine vengono a detto rinovazione; ed è cosa piu chiara che la luce, che non si rinovando questi corpi, non durano: il modo di rinovargli è come è detto, ridurgli verso i principii fuoi, perche tutti i principii delle sette e delle repubbliche, e de regni, conviene che abbiano in se qualche bontà mediante laquale, repiglino la prima reputazione ed aumento loro; e perché nell' processo del' tempo, quella bontà si corrumpe se non interviene cosa, che la riduca al segno, ammazza di necessità quell' corpo: e questi dottori di medecina dicono, parlando dei corpi degli uomini—“ *Quod “ quotidie aggregatur aliquid, quod quandoque indiget curatione.*”

Machiav. Discors. Lib. 3<sup>o</sup>. Cap. 1<sup>o</sup>.

Such is the fluctuation of manners, and so dependant thereon political institutions, that the diuturnity cannot be presumed even of a state

state possessing the principle which Machiavel hath suggested;—or even of those,—the most studied efforts of Utopian systematics:—the visionary Plato himself is obliged to confess it of his own Republic or Politeia: says he,—*χαλεπὸν μὲν κίνησθαι πόλιν οὕτω ξυστᾶσαν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γενομένῳ πανίεφθόρα ἐστὶ, ἥδε ἢ τοιαύτη ξύστασις τὸν ἀπάντα μένει χρόνον ἀλλὰ λυθῆσθαι.*—“It will be difficult to move or subvert a government so constituted, (*as his Politeia*) but since corruption is incident to all, and every one, that has been; such constitution too shall in its turn be dissolved.

Platon. Pol. Lib. 8.

Aristotle and Plato have treated largely of the revolutions incident to each form of government, and of the circle of polity, through which it recurs to its original state, and anew takes the same career of vicissitude: the historian Polybius too in his sixth book hath treated copiously of these subjects: the changes from Tyranny to Aristocracy, from Aristocracy to Oligarchy, from Oligarchy to Democracy, and from Democracy to Tyranny again, have been ably investigated by these philosophers and politicians; and not to tire with too numerous, or prolix quotations, I refer the reader to the originals, or leave it to his ingenuity to connect these links of the Political Chain.

#### NOTE [56.] Page 65.

Aristotle hath dedicated the ninth chapter of the third book of his Politics to a consideration of the ostracism, and clearly proves that without this honorary method of getting rid of those eminent from their wealth, their alliances, their popularity, or their policy, no free Republic could long remain so. *τῆς δοκοῦσας υπέρχειν δύναμει, δια πλεονεκτημάτων πολυφιλίαν, ἢ τινα ἄλλον πόλεως ἰσχύον.* Diodorus Siculus too observes that there entered no idea of punishment, in this species of banishment, but that it was enacted merely on the levelling principle—*νόμοθεῖσθαι δὲ ταῦτα δοκῶσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ ἵνα τὴν κακίαν κολαζῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὰ φρονήματα ταπεινότερα γινῆται δία τὴν φύγην.* “the Athenians adopted not this institution with a view to punishment, so much as with an idea that spirits too high and soaring should be sent to evaporate in exile. Diod. Sic. Lib. I I.

Many



Many writers who have treated superficially of historical subjects, have censured the ostracism of Athens, either because their minds were warped by enthusiastic admiration of the exiled heroes; or because they had not duly studied the free constitution of Athens, the genuine principle of the ostracistic institution, and its relation to that constitution of government; or lastly because they were partizans of despotism from habit, or enemies to freedom from prejudice: every political writer of sound intellect, adequate learning, and unfettered genius, hath payed the tribute of praise to the ostracism. I have begun this note with introducing to the reader the authority of Aristotle, I will close it with that of Montesquieu: à Athènes ou le législateur avait senti l'extension et les bornes qu'il devoit donner à sa loi, l'ostracisme fut une chose admirable; on n'y soumettoit jamais qu'un seul personne; il falloit un si grand nombre de suffrages, qu'il étoit difficile qu'on exilât quelqu'un dont l'absence ne fût pas nécessaire.

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L. Esprit des Loix, Liv. 29. Chap. 7.

NOTE [57.] Page 66.

Ma l'ingiuste calumnie e tanto ardite  
Contrà al buon' Cittadin tal volta fanno,  
Tirannico uno ingegno humano e mite;  
Spesso diventa un Cittadin' Tirranno,  
E di viver' civil' trapassa il segno,  
Per non sentir' d'ingratitudo il danno.  
Machiav. Capit. d' ingrat.

NOTE [58.] Page 68.

... ἔγω καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ὀρῶμεν δύο μέρη, τό τε αἰλόγον καὶ τὸ λόγον ἔχον, καὶ τὰς ἐξῆς τὰς τῶν δύο τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ὃν πό μιν εἰν ἀρίεις, τό τε νόος.—“ the  
3 soul

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IX.

## NOTE [61.] Page 70.

Fifty one years elapsed from the first usurpation to the expulsion of Hippias, Pisistratus's reign, including the interregna, was thirty three years,—ἐκείνῳ καὶ δέκα οἱ ὠκτώδεες—"that of his sons eighteen years."

Aristot. Pol. L. 5. Cap. 12.

## NOTE [62.] Page 70.

... La vertu dans une republique est une chose très simple, c'est l'amour de la republique, c'est un sentiment et non une suite de connoissance, le dernier homme de l'état peut avoir ce sentiment, comme le premier.

L'Esprit des Loix, L. 5. Cap. 2.

## NOTE [63.] Page 73.

Montesquieu's definition of liberty is as follows:—"Il est vrai que dans les democracies le peuple paroît faire ce qu'il veut, mais la liberté politique ne consiste point à faire ce que l'on veut; dans un état, c'est à dire, dans une société où il y a des lois, la liberté ne peut consister qu'à pouvoir faire ce que l'on doit vouloir, et à n'être point contraint à faire ce que l'on ne doit point vouloir." L'Esprit des Loix, L. 11. C. 3. This definition appears to me but vague;—indeed Montesquieu seems never to have fixed, or to have been satisfied, with his idea of civil liberty; after various positions he almost does away civil liberty in fact, by leaving it in opinion:—"La liberté philosophique consiste dans l'exercice de sa volonté, ou du moins (s'il faut parler dans tous les systèmes) dans l'opinion où l'on est, que l'on exerce sa volonté:—la liberté politique consiste dans sa sûreté, ou du moins, dans l'opinion que l'on a de sa sûreté." L. 12. C. 2.—Surely this sentence is trifling and unworthy of that great author!

## CHAP.

## X.

## NOTE [64.] Page 74.

ἥδε πόλις ἐστὶ κοινωμία τῆς τῶν ὁμοίων ἐνέκα δε ζῆς τῆς ἐνδεχομένης ἀρίστης . . .  
 δηλον ὡς τετ' αἷτιον τῷ γιγνέσθαι πολιῶς εἰδῆ καὶ διαφορᾶς, καὶ πολιτικῆς πλειῶς.  
 ἄλλον γὰρ τρόπον καὶ δι' ἄλλαν ἐκάστοις τοῖς θηρευομένοις τῆς τῆς βίης ἑτέρας ποιῆσαι καὶ πολι-  
 τείας. "a state is a community of men united for the purpose of attaining  
 " what seems happiest and best for them; now this is the true cause of  
 " the forms, of the varieties, and of the vicissitudes of constitutions  
 " of government; for men entertaining diverse ideas of the thing to  
 " be attained, and of the mode of attaining it, adopt accordingly  
 " different manners of life, and different forms of political constitu-  
 " tion."

Aristot. Pol. L. 7. C. 8.

## NOTE [65.] Page 74.

The position in the text is true and just, yet exceptions to the rule may be admitted;—it may with reason be observed, that under particular circumstances a partial restriction of emigrants may be justified by political expediency,—and in certain cases that a general restrictive rule may be politically just:—in the first instance alluded to, the "ne exeat regno," is applicable to such men as are peculiarly necessary to the state, as shipwrights, certain artisans and others:—in the second case it is applicable to all such as from their situations or by their actions are *responsible* to the state, or *amenable* to its laws.

## NOTE [66.] Page 82.

## CHAP.

## XI.

Ægina was a commercial state of the highest antiquity; It was the first which coined money, and money was thence called Ἀγιναιον—

πρῶτον.

πρώτον νόμισμα ἐκὸψάψο, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκλήθη νόμισμα Ἀιγιναιῶν. Ælian. V. H. Lib. 12. Cap. 10. So too Strabo—ἐν Ἀιγείνῃ πρῶτον ἀργυρον κοπῆσαι ὑποφείδωνος. Lib. 8.—the Æginetans corrupted by commercial habits, seem to have filled the place in ancient communities, which the Jews fill in modern; I need not comment on a fact mentioned by Herodotus, “ that after the battle of Platæa, whatever plate and other valuables were stolen at the Persian camp by the Helots, slaves and others, were purchased at an under price by the Æginetans.

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NOTE [67.] Page 84.

Pythia respondet, ut *manibus ligneis* (Atheniensēs) se munirent; id responsum quo valeret, quum intelligeret nemo, Themistocles persuasit consilium esse Apollinis ut in *naves* se suae conferrent.

Corn. Nep. vit. Themist.

NOTE [68.] Page 86.

Pausanias, in *Achaicis*, says—“ that Theseus when he first congregated the people in Athens, instituted the festival of *Panathenæa* :”—the Athenian festivals were extremely numerous; Xenophon in his treatise on the republic of Athens, says they were twice the number of those in any other state, and that they much impeded public business; hence Athens was termed by the oracle, “ the common altar piece of Greece,” *την κοιναν ἑστιαν τῆς ἑλλάδος*. Ælian. L. 4. C. 6.—the festival of the *Panathenæa* according to the best accounts was first instituted by Erichthonius, or, as some say, by Orpheus, and was afterwards more splendidly endowed by Theseus; and as before that king called the people together in Athens, neither the celebrity nor ceremonies of the festival were extraordinary, this might give occasion to Pausanias to call him the institutor; the grand festival (for there were others secondary and annual) was held every fifth year, and the victors prize in the games was a jar of oil, the staple produce of Attica, and from the fruit sacred to the tutelary Minerva. Vid. Meurs. de hoc festo.

U u 2

Speaking

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XI.

Speaking of the very numerous religious ceremonies in Athens, they may readily be accounted for, in the consideration of the various countries, from which the original settlers came, and who had each their special object of worship; and when under Theseus the people left their villages and came to Athens, those of each family and district introduced their own particular deity and religious customs; and thence in tracing the genealogy of any great man, Herodotus and Diodorus often resort to the question "of what Divinity he was wont to sacrifice to?"

NOTE [69.] Page 86.

Miltiades requested that his name might be inscribed under his portrait, but was refused as being too great a distinction.

Æschin. Orat. cont. Ctesiph.

NOTE [70.] Page 86.

—Debet enim honor non merces facinoris esse, sed signum.

Senec. Ep.

NOTE [71.] Page 87.

Ne fu già sola Roma ingrata al tutto,  
Riguarda Athene dove ingratitudo  
Pose il suo nido, piu ch' altrove brutto;  
Miltiade, Aristide, e Phocione,  
De Themistocle ancor' la dura sorte  
Son' del' viver' suo buon' testimone.

Machiav. Cap. d'ingrat.

NOTE [72.] Page 88.

e non senza cagione si affomiglia la voce del' popolo a quella d'iddio,  
perche si vede una opinione universale fare effetti maravigliosi nei pronostichi.

nostichi suoi, tal' che pare che per occulta virtù prevegga il suo male  
 è il suo bene. C H A P. XI.

Machiav. Disc. L. I. C. 58.

The like is the sentiment of Aristotle—*τῆς γὰρ πολλῆς ὧν ἕκαστος ἐστὶν ἡ σπουδαῖος ἀνὴρ, ὅμως ἐνδεχέσθαι συνελθούσης εἶναι βελτίους ἐκείνων, ἢ καὶ ὡς ἕκαστον ἀλλ' ὡς συμπάντας. . . . εἶναι γὰρ ἕκαστος μὲν χειρὶν κριτῆς τῶν ἐιδότων, ἀπαντὶς δὲ συνελθούσης ἢ βελτίους ἢ ἡ χειρὶς τῶν ολιγαρχίας μείσσηκόντων* “The many  
 “ being composed of parts, of which each part be severally incompe-  
 “ tent, yet may the whole be competent to wisdom in its aggregate  
 “ capacity; the assembly shall be superiour, though its constituents  
 “ separately taken be inferiour in policy to any one statesman:—each  
 “ and by himself shall judge worse than a well educated man, but the  
 “ whole and together shall decide better, or certainly not worse than a  
 “ cabinet of oligarchy.”

Aristot. Pol. L. 3. Cap. 7.

#### NOTE [73.] Page 88.

Intervenue bene ad Athene il contrario che a Roma, perche effen-  
 dole tolta la libertá dal Pisistrato nel suo piu fiorito tempo, e sotto un  
 inganno di bontá, come prima ella divenne poi libera, ricordandosi  
 delle ingiurie ricevute, divenne aspera vendicatrice, non solamente degli  
 errori, ma dell' ombra degli errori de suoi cittadini.—(et infrà)—i po-  
 poli mordono piu fieramento poi che essi hanno recuperata la libertá,  
 che poi che l'hanno conservata.

Mach. Disc. L. I. C. 28.

#### NOTE [74.] Page 89.

This speech of Artabanus from Herodotus, as well as the whole  
 debate of the other Persian chiefs, is well worth referring to,—the  
 speech in the text is generally an epitome of the speech in council, with  
 a passage or two inserted from the discourse of Artabanus at Sardis, and  
 the very sublime sentence which closes the oration is literally translated.

—*ὅν γὰρ εἴα φρονεῖν ἄλλον μέγα ὁ Θεός ἢ ἐμῶν:*

N. O. T. E.



## NOTE [75.] Page 90.

The number in the text is taken from Justin, as the *medium* of the account given by ancient writers of this vast army, and taken as the total of that army allowing for recruits, after having passed Mount Athos. The numbers of the army of Xerxes form so interesting a subject in a philosophical and chronological, as well as in an historical point of view, that some ascertainment thereof might be desirable; yet it is not to be attained: for I think we cannot follow Herodotus; and yet, leaving him, we leave out the only detail we have of this army. Herodotus estimates the land forces mustered at Doriscus, to have amounted to one million eight hundred thousand fighting men; and by the recruits joining on the march to Thermopylæ, to have increased to two million one hundred thousand: the fleet he computes at twelve hundred and seven ships of war, each ship having a complement of two hundred and thirty men, sailors and marines; and three thousand transports and victuallers having each eighty seamen; with those in the ships of war, forming a total of about five hundred and forty thousand seamen, which added to the land army, make two million six hundred and forty thousand: to these the historian adds a gross computation of servants, sutlers, and other military followers to nearly an equal amount, and thus calculates the force of Xerxes—*at five million two hundred and eighty-three thousand two hundred and twenty men:—besides* a multitude of women, eunuchs, and slaves, which (he says) no one could number.

We can scarcely give credit to this account of Herodotus, for the obvious reason, that no one ancient author has adopted it, and that even his countrymen did *not* give it credit, however from vain glory inclined so to do: Isocrates, whose business was amplification on such a subject, calls the multitude who followed Xerxes five million, and probably in this computation he enumerated the women and eunuchs, for he specifies the military force to have consisted of only *seven hundred thousand*. Πενταχοσίας μυριάδας τῶν πάντων, ἐξ ὧν καὶ οὐκ αἱ τῶν μαχημένων. Diodorus Siculus states the army at eight hundred thousand, or *rather*

*more—*

*more*—μυριάδες πλεῖς των ὀγδοήκοντα.—Ctesias, at eight hundred thousand, besides the armed chariots : admitting these “ *corps de reserve*,” I have followed the epitomist of Trogus, who Lib. ii. Cap. 10. states the army of Xerxes at *one million*.

CHAP.  
XII.

Herodotus exaggerated his account, probably to flatter the Greeks, before whom he recited his histories at the Olympian games : Ctesias, who, according to Diodorus, Lib. 2. had the keeping of the Persian Archives, in which the muster probably was registered, might be suspected of falsifying the account, and of diminishing the numbers of the Persian army, in order to sooth the national feelings of its discomfiture and loss, or at least to flatter the pride of his royal master, Artaxerxes : yet this seems not to have been the opinion of the Greek and other ancient writers, who adopted nearly his account and enumeration. In regard to the fleet, Herodotus, and the other authors above cited, tally nearly in the mention of something above twelve hundred sail : Ctesias indeed mentions but one thousand ships of war ; yet in this too his credit is preserved by a passage in the “ *Persai*” of Æschylus, in which the poet speaks of the other two hundred ships as light armed vessels, probably correspondent to our frigates, and which in the Persian Archives might not therefore have been enumerated *with the line*. It may be necessary to observe, that Æschylus was present at the engagement of Salamis, and that his tragedy “ *the Persai*” was represented early as eight years after the battle of Plataea ; these circumstances stamp the following lines, and indeed every line of that tragedy referring to facts, with the seal of accuracy and truth. The warrior could not be mistaken, the poet dared not falsify,—he had witnesses to confront him on every feat of the theatre.

Πλήθους μὲν ἂν σαφ' ἴσθ' ἐκάτι βαρβαρῶν.  
 Νῆυσι κραίῃσαι. καὶ γὰρ Ἴλλησι μὲν ἦν.  
 Ὅ παρ' ἀριθμὸς ἐς τριακάδας δέκα  
 Νῆων. δέκας δ' ἦν των τε χωρὶς ἱγκράτους.  
 Εἰρξῇ δέ, καὶ γὰρ οἶδα, χίλιας μὲν ἦν  
 ὧν ἦγε πλῆθους, αἱ τ' ὑπέρκομποι τὰ χεῖ.  
 Ἐκάλου δὲς ἦσαν. ἔπ' αὖθ' ἔχει λόγος.

Περσαι. V. 337.

“ Know



" Know then, in numbers, the Barbaric fleet  
 " Was far superior ; in ten squadrons, each  
 " Of thirty ships, Greece plough'd the deep, of these  
 " One held a distant station : Xerxes led  
 " *A thousand ships* ; (their number well I know)  
 " Two hundred and seven more that swept the seas  
 " With speediest sail :—this was their full amount."

Potter.

## NOTE [76.] Page 91.

Says Plato, alluding to this crisis—*ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἐλπίδος ὀχοῦμένοι ταύτης, εὐρίσκον καταφύγην αὐτοῖς, εἰς αὐτὰς μόνους εἶναι καὶ τὰς θεάς.*

Plat. de Leg. L. 3.

## NOTE [77.] Page 92.

At the sea fight near Artemisium, the Greeks had about two hundred ships, sixty of which were Athenian. Isocrat. Paneg.

## NOTE [78.] Page 93.

The expression of Isocrates on occasion of the secession from Athens is beautiful and energetic ; it is in the oration composed for Archidamus of Sparta, and the word *ἡμῖν* refers to the Spartans.—*Ἐκλιπούσας δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν, καὶ πατρίδα μὲν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν νομίσαντες κοινωπύσαντες δὲ τῶν κινδύνων ἡμῖν.* " Leaving their native soil and city, and regarding their country as comprized in their liberty (the Athenians) " left themselves nothing to share with us in, but the common danger."

Isocrat. Archid. Orat.

## NOTE [79.] Page 95.

From the passage of Æschylus above cited, it appears that the Grecian fleet consisted of three hundred sail ; it does not seem easy to ascertain

certain the exact proportion of the Athenian squadron. Diodorus, Lib. 11. makes it an hundred and forty; Ctesias says an hundred and ten of the ships only were Athenian; Herodotus in Urania, an hundred and twenty; Cornelius Nepos, two hundred: adhering to the authority of Æschylus as to the numbers of the whole Grecian fleet, we should adopt the number of Athenian ships given us by Nepos: for that the republic had a greater number of ships than all the other Greek states united, is repeatedly and strongly asserted by Isocrates, and others; and having no mean number stated by any historian, between that of one hundred and forty given us by Diodorus, and the two hundred alluded to, we must even take the latter, though greater than is necessary, to tally with the expression of Isocrates—*ἡ πᾶσις ἡμῶν ἀνάστατος γενομένη πλεῖς μὲν συνεβάλετο τριῆρεις εἰς τὸν κινδυνὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἢ συμπάντες οἱ ναυμαχῆσαντες*. Isocrat. paneg. Ctesias says that at the sea fight of Salamis the Persian fleet consisted but of seven hundred ships: Diodorus Siculus, Lib. 11. computes the Asiatic Greek squadron at about three hundred sail;—supposing that squadron to have kept aloof, we have another proof of the accuracy of Ctesias. In this battle the same author says the Persians lost five hundred ships.

Ctesias in Persicis.

#### NOTE [80.] Page 96.

Themistocles, victo Xerxe, volentes suos pontem rumpere prohibuit, cum docuisset potius esse cum expelli Europâ, quam cogi ex desperatione pugnare: idem misit ad eum qui indicaret, in quo periculo esset, nisi fugam maturaret. Frontin. Stratagem. L. 2. C. 10.

#### NOTE [81.] Page 97.

Il ne faut pas beaucoup de probité pour qu'un gouvernement monarchique, ou un gouvernement despotique, se maintiennent ou se soutiennent; la force des loix dans l'un, le bras du prince toujours levé dans l'autre reglent ou contiennent tout, mais dans un état populaire, il faut un ressort de plus, qui est la vertu.

X x

L'Esprit

CHAP.  
XII.

L'Esprit des Loix, L. 3. C. 3:—Had Montesquieu left the above sentence precisely as it stands, and without further exposition, it is clear, intelligible and true; there was surely no occasion to qualify, or rather to explain away, the whole sense and force of the expression:—the passage I allude, and object to, is—"dans l'avertissement de l'auteur,"—Il faut observer que ce que j'appelle la vertu dans la republique, est l'amour de la patrie, c'est a dire l'amour de l'egalité, ce n'est point une vertu morale.—How doth this accord with a first principle of his system, that private virtue is the basis of public!—how doth it agree with the following sentence?—l'amour de la patrie conduit a la bonté des mœurs, et la bonté des mœurs conduit a l'amour de la patrie. Chap. 2.—Montesquieu makes public and private virtue, *connected and reciprocative*,—how then is public virtue, not a moral virtue?

Aristotle is the most correct writer on political subjects I have ever read; and his *Politica* merit the eulogium bestowed on them, by Dr. Taylor in his treatise of Civil Law,—“that they form the most sterling “work bequeathed us by antiquity.”—says Aristotle—φανερὸν ὡς ἐν τῇ καλλίστῃ πολιτευόμενῃ πόλει καὶ τῇ κεκμημένη δικαίως ἀνδρας ἀπλως εἶναι.—“It is “demonstrable that in a commonwealth, well instituted, adminis- “tered, and established, that the citizens must be just and good men.” Aristot. Pol. Lib. 7. C. 9. meaning no doubt, that otherwise its administration must be incompetent, its establishment subverted, and—in a word—the premises be dissolved.

NOTE [82.] Page 99.

Herodotus expatiates on the respect shown to the corpse of Mardonius: Ctesias says Mardonius escaped—καὶ φεύγει τραυματισθεὶς καὶ Μαρδόνιος. Pausanias contradicts both, saying that Mardonius was killed, and that the Greeks refused his body for burial.—It were well if like variance of authorities never rendered disputable, facts of greater importance than the fate of Mardonius, or of Mardonius's carcase!

NOTE

## NOTE [83.] Page 102.

CHAP.  
XIII.

(In Ægypt. Itin.)—Cæterum Germanicus aliis quoque miraculis intendit animum, quorum præcipua fuere, Memnonis saxea effigies, ubi radiis solis icta est, vocalem sonum reddens. Tacit. Ann. 2. Pliny Hist. Nat. L. 10. Cap. 26. and Pausanias in Atticis, and Strabo likewise mention this Phænomenon;—probably of priest-craft.

## NOTE [84.] Page 103.

The Spartan candidate for a senatorial feat, who when rejected, exclaimed, "happy am I, that there are three hundred citizens in "Sparta more worthy than myself!" was a genuine citizen of a free republic. All idea of self-distinction, as well as of self-interest, in matters wherein the commonwealth is concerned, should be banished from the mind of each constituent; to whose patriotism, as to whose virtue, the internal sentiment of duty, the approbation of conscience, and the acknowledgments of his countrymen rather implied by their private affection, and public confidence, than manifested by adulatory offerings and decrees, should be the only motives and only rewards; external retributions of merit, even if warily bestowed, incite envy and pride, and beget such dangerous distinctions, as leave the popular assembly impassioned or subservient; I should say to every citizen in the words of Tully.—"non debes aut propriam fortunam, aut præcipuam postulare, aut communem recusare.

Epist. Fam. L. 4. Ep. 15.

## NOTE [85.] Page 105.

Hippodamus was the architect or engineer who planned the separate fortification of the Piræus. Arist. Pol. L. 2. C. 9.—The Piræus had three harbours or inlets for shipping, and in honour of his having first appropriated it to the Athenian navy, instead of the port Phaleron; the tomb of Themistocles was raised on the beach of the larger harbour. Pausan. in Att. sub, init.

## NOTE [86.] Page 108.

“ Governments ever should be instituted with a view to the happiness of the constituents.” Aristot. Pol. L. 7. C. 9.—If this axiom is just, the Spartan state might be an object of admiration, but not of approbation; its internal infelicity cannot be more strongly marked than in the words attributed to Alcibiades:—*ελεγε δὲ μὴδὲν παραδόξον ποιεῖν Λακεδαιμονίους ἀδέως ἐν τῷ πόλεμῳ ἀποθνήσκοντάς, τὴν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ταλαιπωρίαν ἀποδίδρασκόντες θάνατον ὑπὲρ τῶν πόνων ἰχοῦσι πρόθυμαῖς ἀλλάττεσθαι.* “ He was wont to say, that there was nothing so extraordinary in the Lacedæmonians dying fearlessly in battle, for considering the misery they suffered under their institutions at home, they might well chuse death in exchange for such a life.”

Ælian. Var. Hist. L. 13. Cap. 28.

## NOTE [87.] Page 116.

—ὃ δὲ διὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα δεικνύοντες τὸν νόμον ἐπαινοῦν, ὅτι κράτειν ἡσκήσεν ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν τέλους ἀρχεῖν. ταῦτα γὰρ μεγάλῃ ἰσχύϊ βλάβην. δηλὸν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τῇ δυναμένῃ τὰ τοιαῦτα περιβαλεῖται.

πειράσειον διώκειν ὅπως δυνῆται της οικείας πολέως ἀρχειν· “ The legislator is  
 “ no ways to be praised, for that he sows such seeds as may produce a  
 “ spirit of foreign conquest and domination; great may be the evils  
 “ thence ensuing; for it will necessarily follow, that among many  
 “ citizens accustomed to tyrannize abroad, one may be found who will  
 “ attempt to tyrannize at home.” Aristot. Pol. L. 7. C. 14.

CHAP.  
XIV.

NOTE [88.] Page 125.

. . . Θαλάττης τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλάβον δούλων των μὲν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων. . . Isocrates  
 further explains the nature of this empire of the seas, observing that  
 the Athenians had the command and controul of all general concerns  
 and measures, touching the islands and maritime states,---each state  
 being yet interiorly free and independant,---ὅλων μὲν των πραγμάτων  
 ἐπιστάταις, ἴδια δὲ ἑκάστος ἐλευθέρας ἰσῆς εἶναι. Paneg. under circumstances  
 of the general supremacy, such sort of independency was however, a  
 mere sufferance.

CHAP.  
XV.

NOTE [89.] Page 126.

--- πᾶσων δὲ πόλεων Ἀθῆναι μάλιστα πεφύκασιν ἐν εἰρηῇ αὐξίσθαι.  
 Xenoph. περι προσόδων. C. 4. S. 2.

NOTE [90.] Page 126.

ἢν μιν κατὰ γῆν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπ' ἐπὶ ἀξίας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ πειθαρχίας, καὶ  
 των ἄλλων των τοιούτων μελίσσων. τὴν δὲ κατὰ Θαλάτταν δύναμιν ἐκ ἐκ τούτων  
 αὐξάνουσαν, ἀλλ' ἐκ των τέχων πῆρι τας ναῦς, καὶ των ἐλαύνειν αὐτὰς δυναμένων,  
 καὶ των τα σφέτερα μιν αὐτῶν ἀπολωλέκοιαν, ἐκ δὲ των ἀλλοτρίων πορίζεσθαι τὸν  
 βίον ἐκδίδουσαν. ὡς ἐπιστάταις ἐς την πόλιν ἐκ ἀδήλος ἦν τε κόσμος ὁ της προίον  
 παρχίας πολίτας λυθῆσομενος. . . &c.---“ the interests of a territorial  
 “ sovereignty.

CHAP. "sovereignty are guarded and promoted by a spirit of good order,  
 XV. "moderation, obedience to the laws, and such like virtues; but a  
 { "maritime power becomes not great from such sources, but from the  
 "naval arts of building ships, and of those who man and work them;  
 "and of those who having dissipated or lost their all, seek reprisals  
 "from the fortunes of others; and these being mingled in the mass of  
 "the state, it is evident that such arrangements as those supporting  
 "the inland power above alluded to, must give way to them, and be  
 "dissolved. Isocrat. Orat. *περὶ Ειρήνης*."

Note [91.] Page 128.

« γὰρ ψηφίσμασιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἡθροῖς κάλως οἰκείσθαι τὰς πόλεις. *ibidem*.

NOTE [92.] Page 130.

ἔγω δὲ ἀπεχρόνῳ τῶν τῆς πόλεως ὡς χαλεπωτέρῳ ἢ ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις εὖρεται  
 τὰς βελομένους ἄρχειν ἢ νῦν τὰς μὴδὲν δεόμενας. Isocrat. Orat. Areopag.  
 Admitting there to be no hyperbolé in the expression of Isocrates, there  
 is none in that of Seneca,—“ in quâ civitate erat Areopagus religio-  
 “ fiffimum judicium, in quâ Senatus, *populusque Senatui similis*.”

Senec. de Tranquill. Anim.

NOTE [93.] Page 131.

ἐκ τῶν ὧ φίλοι ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν παλαιῶν νόμων ὁ δῆμος τίνων Κύριος ἀλλὰ τρέπων  
 τίνα ἔκων ἐδῆλεσε τοῖς νομοῖς. . . . .

καὶ ὥρως τέλοισι δὴ τὸ μέγεθος τε εἶλε καὶ τε γῆν καὶ καὶ θαλάτταν γινόμενον  
 φόβον ἀπειρὸν ἐμβάλον, θαλεῖαν ἐπὶ μείζονα ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς τοῖς τότε ἀρχεσιν, καὶ τοῖς  
 νόμοις θαλεῦσαι, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πάνθ' ἡμῖν ξυνεπίσει πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτὰς σφοδρά φιλική.

Plato de Legibus, Lib. 3.

NOTE

## NOTE [94.] Page 134.

Aussi les bonnes democraties en établissantes la frugalité domestique, ont elles ouvertes la porte aux dépenses publiques, comme on fit à Athenes et Rome ; pour lors la magnificence et la profusion naissaient du fond de la frugalité même. L'Esprit des Loix, L. 5. C. 3.

Montesquieu pursues not the subject to such deduction as inferred in the text ; but in another place he says,—a mesure que le luxe s'établit dans une republique, l'Esprit se tourne vers l'intêret particulier. L. 7. Chap. 2.—Luxury and the fine arts cherish mutually each other ; the excellencies of the painter, the statuary, and the architect, raise and support that vanity of patronage which supports them ; from the eye to the ear, to the taste, reciprocative passions thus mingle and multiply, till the measure of luxury is filled to the top, and the republic is weakened and finally dissolved by its corruptive influence.

## NOTE [95.] Page 138.

Grandis, et ut ita dicam, pudica oratio, est maculosa nec tur-  
gida, sed naturali pulchritudine exsurgit : nuper ventosa isthæc et  
enormis loquacitas Athenas ex Asiâ commigravit, animosque juvenum  
ad magna surgentes, veluti pestilenti quodam sidere afflavit ; simulque  
corruptæ eloquentiæ regula stetit et obtinuit : quis postea, ad summam  
Thucydidis, quis Hypéridis ad famam processit ? ac ne carmen quidem  
sani coloris enituit, sed omnia quasi eodem cibo pasta non potuerunt  
usque ad senectutem canescere : pictura quoque non alium exitum fe-  
cit, postquam Ægyptiorum audacia tam magnæ artis compendiarium  
fecit. Petron. Satyricon. Cap. 2. Thus too Quintilian complains of  
the hyperbolé and *points* creeping into the stile of the times, through  
the example of Seneca.—“ Multæ in eo claræque sententiæ, multa  
“ etiam morum gratiâ legenda, sed in eloquendo corrupta pleraque ;  
“ atque



CHAP. "atque eo perniciosissima, quòd abundant *dulcibus vitiis*." Quintil.  
 XVI. Inst. Orat. L. 10. Cap. 1.

## NOTE [96.] Page 138.

Literature and contemplation are the proper "*solatia rerum*" of each mind of serious bent, of refined education, and of virtuous sensibility, when agitated in scenes of civil commotion, or driven from society by disgust of anarchy, or terrors of despotism.—Quamvis hæc sunt misera, quæ sunt miserrima tempora tamen artes nostræ, nescio quomodo, nunc uberiores fructus ferre videantur, quàm olim ferebant; sive quia nullâ nunc in re aliâ acquiescimus, sive quòd gravitas morbi facit, ut medicinæ egeamus, eaque nunc appareat, cujus vim non sentiebamus, quùm valebamus, Cic. Ep. Fam. L. 9. Ep. 3. . . . sed est unum perfugium doctrinæ ac literæ quibus semper usi sumus, quæ secundis rebus delectationem, modo habere videbantur, nunc vero etiam salutem. Ejuſd. L. 6. Ep. 12. The above elegant and meditative sentences spoke Cicero's sense of the comfort and resources he derived from philosophy and the love of letters, during a period of civil commotion; the same resources suited similar minds during the usurpation and despotism that succeeded; the philosophy of the stoics thrived under the tyranny of the Cæsars; Thrasea, Helvidius, the hero of that sect Epictetus, and many others in those times exercised the mind by moral meditation, and invigorated their tenets by the rigid practice of the virtue they taught: nor on *account of his works*, should the name of Seneca be omitted;—nor too on *account of his virtues*, as well as of his wisdom; for it is more in nature that the historian Dion Cassius should be malevolent, than that a writer and his writings should be so at variance: a bad man might write a good book, but a bad man could not, I think, write so many books, invariably good, or so many familiar epistles, nor in any one betray a levity of thought, or even an inconsistency of expression.

NOTE

## NOTE [97.] Page 139.

. . . Τα μιν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα, τὴν χρεῖαν διδάσκειν εἶκος αὖτις. τὰ δ' εἰς εὐσχῆ-  
μοσυνην καὶ περιουσίαν, ὑπαρχόντων ἤδη τῶτων, εὐλόγον λαμβάνειν αὐξήσιν. " what  
" is necessary to life, necessity will be the teacher of; what belongs to  
elegance and superfluity, will follow and increase on the accomplish-  
ment of the first. Aristot. Pol. L. 7. Cap. 10.

## NOTE [98.] Page 140.

—Pliny calls the Laocoön—"opus omnibus et picturæ et statuariæ  
"artis præferendum." Var. Hist. L. 36. cap. 5. The artists were  
Agelander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus of Rhodes.

## NOTE [99.] Page 141.

Anaxagoras was a moral philosopher, and likewise a physiologist:  
the most famous opinion of Anaxagoras and which has been commented  
on by Aristotle in his '*Physics*,' was,—"that all things (or elements)  
"were mingled and confused, when divine mind or spirit directed  
"their order and arrangement;"—*πάντα χρεῖματα ἦν ὁμῶς, εἷλα νοῦς ἐλθὼν*  
*ταῦτα διεκδόμησε*.—Other opinions likewise of this speculative genius  
remarkably anticipate the knowledge of a more enlightened age; as  
for instance,—that "the moon had hills and vales, and might be habita-  
"ble;"—that "comets were planets, emitting flame;"—that "the cause  
"of winds was the rarefaction of the air by the sun;"—that "thunder  
"and lightning proceeded from the collision and confriktion of  
"clouds;"—that "earthquakes were caused by confined air within the  
"body of the earth,"—&c. &c.—*τὴν Σελήνην οἰκῆσεις ἔχειν ἄλλα καὶ λόφους*  
*καὶ φαράγγας*.—*τις δὲ κομήτας συνόδον πλανήτων φλόγας ἀφίεντων*.—*ἀνέμους γιγνέσ-*  
*θαι λεπθυνομένῃ τῷ αἵρεσι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἥλιου*.—*βροχίας συγκροῦσιν νέφους*.—*ἀστράπας*  
*ἐκρίψιν νέφους*.—*σεισμον ὑπονοεῖσθαι αἵρεσι εἰς γῆν*.—&c.—Diog. Laert. Vit.

Y y

Anaxag.

CHAP. Anaxag.—on these subjects, vid. *Traité sur L'Origine des Sciences* par  
 XVI. Mon<sup>r</sup>. Bailly.

NOTE [100.] Page 142.

—μεχρὶ γὰρ τῶδε ἀνέκδοι οἱ ἐπαῖνοι εἴσι περί ἑτερων λεγομένοι, ὅσον, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸς  
 ἱκᾶτος οἶηται ἱκανὸς εἶναι δεῖσθαι τί ὧν ἤκαστε

Orat. fun. ap. Thucyd. L. 3.

NOTE [101.] Page 143.

—ὥς ἐμφάσιν ποιεῖν, ἐὰν ὀρθῶς γενῆται, δ' ἀνάγκης ἀποσέγασειν τὸν ναόν.

Strabo. Lib. 8.

Ἡ καὶ κυανέησιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι θευσε Κρονίων

Ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντα ἀνακτός,

Κράτος ἀπ' Αἰθαιόιοιο. μέγαν δ' ἐλελῖξεν Ὀλύμπου·

Hom. Il. α. v. 528.

NOTE [102.] Page 143.

Winckelman was antiquarian to the Pope Ganganelli, and had all the remains of antiquity before him; in his opinion he is decisive: L'art a commencé par le figures les plus simples, et probablement par une espece grossiere de sculpture; car un enfant même est capable de donner une certaine forme à une matiere souple, mais il ne peut rien dessiner sur une superficie. Hist. de L'Art. Sect. 1. et Chap. 4. Sect. 2. Pliny is of the same opinion as to modelling being antecedent to graving the figure:—"similitudines exprimendi quæ prima fuerit origo, in eâ quam *Plasticen* Græci vocant dici convenientius erit, etenim prior quàm statuaria fecit." Plin. Hist. Nat. L. 34. Cap. 7. When we attentively consider the most ancient Etruscan and Ægyptian figures, preserved in the Italian museums, we cannot think that they were worked from *outline*, or that the art of statuary was indebted for its origin to the limnist. Indeed Diodorus, Sic. L. 4. expressly

expressly tells us, that they were work'd from *measurement*;—and to such nicety and known proportions, that half of a statue was often made in one province of Ægypt, and half in another, and the moities exactly fitted when put together.

C H A P.  
XVI.

It is moreover evident from many circumstances, that Painting was an art of no very high antiquity:—Polygnotus who painted the *ῥόα ποικίλη*, was the first who opened the lips, and gave life to the gesture of his faces: “instituit os adoperire, dentes ostendere, vultum ab antiquo rigore variare.” Plin. L. 35. Cap. 9. And what is more remarkable, before the ninety third olympiad (the æra at which Appollodorus flourished) in no picture was the eye attempted to be painted: “neque ante eum tabula ullius ostenditur quæ teneat oculos.”—in the “*grandior in capitibus articulisque*,” applied by the elder Pliny to Zeuxis—I have the stile of that master before my eyes,—I have before me the large heads and joints of the saints and martyrs, as represented on the windows of an ancient monastery, in an illuminated missal, or on the old Florentine ware.

#### NOTE [103.] Page 144.

Diodorus Sic. Lib. 4. says “that the proportion of the ancient Ægyptian statues was adopted, and introduced by Dædalus into Greece: the same historian further observes, that Dædalus was the first who engraved the eye, separated the legs, and extended the arms: the sculptors before him, formed their rude images with the eyes shut or blinking, and with the arms falling and closely attached to the side.”—τὸν ἰεὺς ῥυθμὸν ἰὼν ἀρχαίων κατ’ Αἰγυπτίον ἀνδριάντων τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι τοῖς ὑπὸ Δαίδαλου καλᾶσκευασθεῖσι πάρα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. . . . . πρῶτος δὲ ὀμμάτων, καὶ διαβεβηκότα τὰ σκελῆ ποιήσας, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς χεῖρας διαλείψας τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, οἱ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς τέχνης καλᾶσκευάζον τὰ ἀγαλμάτα τοῖς μὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς μινυκτοῖς, τὰς δὲ χεῖρας ἔχοντα καθεῖμνας, καὶ ταῖς πλευραῖς κεκόμενας. Lib. 4. Dædalus was the son of Palamæon of Athens, and established a school there; wherein was educated Onatas of Ægina, and many others who were fathers of sculpture in the different countries and cities, they migrated to, and settled in. Pausanias speaks highly of this

Y y 2

Onatas:

CHAP. Onatas : “ τὸν δὲ Οὐαΐαν τέτον ἔτιμος τῆς τέχνης ἐστὶ τὰ ἀγαλμάτα, ὥς τὰ Ἀιγυπτίαν, ἔδενος ὑγέρον θήσομεν τῶν ἀπὸ Δαίδαλα τε καὶ ἐργαστήρι τῷ Ἀττικῷ” Pausan. in Eliac. I. Dædalus worked chiefly in wood : Pausanias speaking of his statue of Hercules extant even in his time, says of that and other works of Dædalus,—that “ they were rude to the touch “ and eye, but that yet something of the true sublime, enthusiastic “ and great, distinguished these images :” Δαίδαλος δὲ ὁπόσα ἐργάσατο ἀτόπων, ἵερα μὲν εἰσιν εἰς τὴν ὄψιν, ἐπιπρέπει δὲ ὅμως τί καὶ ἀνδρῶν τέτοις. Pausan. in Corinth.—in the same book, and in every other of his ten journals, he enumerates statues of the remoter ages, and “ *all of wood*; and “ particularly in the Temple of Apollo,” Ἀπολλῶνος τῷ θεῷ—adjudged to be the most ancient Temple remaining in the time of Pausanias : that author indeed as far as his authority goes, (and I know of no better authority on the subject) puts the exclusive antiquity of wooden images out of question, when in another place he suggests, that “ the *wooden* or *Dædalian* images gave the name of Dædalus to “ the artist the most excellent, instead of Dædalus having stamped “ that epithet on such statues :” οἱ παλαιοὶ ξύανα ἐκαλοῦν Δαίδαλα. ἐκαλοῦν δὲ, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, πρότερον ἐτί ἢ Δαίδαλος ὁ παλαμάωνος ἐγένετο Ἀθηναῖσι. τῷ δὲ ὑγέρον ἀπὸ τῶν Δαίδαλων ἐπεκλήσιν γινέσθαι δοκῶ. Pausan. in Bæot. Indeed the antiquity of wooden images seems beyond all record, and to elude any pretensions of a discovery of their origin and invention.—It is observable that the *idols* formed by the rude nations in the south seas, discovered and brought home by Captain Cook, are of wood,—at least all those which may be considered as prototypes.

## NOTE [104.] Page 144.

χρυσεῖοι δ' ἐκαλῆνθαι καὶ ἀργυρεῖοι κύνες ἦσαν  
 Ὅς Ἡφᾶϊστος ἐτευξέν ἰδυίησι πράπιδισσι,  
 Δῶμα φυλασσέμεναι μεγαλήτορος Ἀλκινόοιο  
 Ἀθάνατις ὅλης καὶ ἀγῆρας ἡμάλα πάντα.

As to the words *ἀθάνατος*, and *αγῆρας*, applied to the above articles of sculpture or inanimate beings, I shall have occasion to observe, that,

not only in these, but in other instances, Homer drew from *the life*, or from *himself*, and not from any examples or properties of art existing in his time. Painting, Pliny observes, Lib. 35. was not known at the time of the Trojan war; and probably was not in any great degree known in the time of Homer, one hundred and sixty-eight years afterwards, according to his life attributed to Herodotus; and even according to the computation of those, who regard that biography as spurious, placed at much the same period. The shield of Achilles is indeed represented as bearing figures and scenery distinguished by colours; but Homer's description is of nature itself, and the poet's eye hath viewed and described that nature in the mirror of his shield; the arts helped not the imagination of the poet, but the imagination of the poet helped the arts, and, as I think, in a great degree framed these arts. Critics have amused themselves with the supposition of raised figures moving on the area of this shield by force of clockwork or machinery; and Mr. Pope, in his essay on the subject, adopting these suppositions, hath in support thereof adduced certain hyperboles of Plato, relative to the statues of Dædalus—as if *walking* or *speaking*! mere phrases of admiration! as if a modern should say there is *life* in such a performance; there is *spirit* in such another; there is *animation* in the Moses of Michael Angelo! there is *divinity* in the Jehovah of Raphael! Other critics have talked of enamel, and in urging the probability of that art having been employed to perfect the shield of Achilles, have alluded to the coloured figures on the walls of Babylon, which had as little to do with enamel as with statuary: says Diodorus, *ἐν ὧμαις ἐπὶ τοῖς πλὴνθοῖς διατίθειτο θῆρια πάντοδ' ἀπα·* &c. &c. Lib. 2. Sect. 97. I merely deduce from the words of the historian, that a builder checquered his wall with figures, his bricks being ready prepared of different coloured clays. As to the art of enamel, or "*Pittura Encaustica*," Pliny says it was unknown before the time of Polygnotus, Lib. 35. Cap. 11. As for the modern writers, who would reject on this occasion the authority of Pliny, and substitute their own, they must give me a better reason than I have yet read, for accepting the modern, ere I reject the ancient. There is a circumstance in the following lines which seems to have escaped the attention of the critics who have discussed the subject of Achilles's shield.

Ἐν δὲ χρόνῳ ποικίλλε περικλύτος ἀμφιγύης;  
 Τῷ ἔκλον οἶον πόλ' ἐνὶ Κνωσσῷ Ἐυρεῖη  
 Δαίδαλος ἠσκήσεν καλλιπλόκαμῳ Ἀριάδνῃ.

Iliad 18. v. 590.

And there the skilful Vulcan grav'd a dance  
 Like unto that which *Dædalus* did work  
 In Gnoſſus for the fair-hair'd Ariadné.

*Dædalus* would scarcely have been cited by Homer, had he not been in the poet's time the first artist known, or on record: nor had Homer been acquainted with more exquisite workmanship would he have assimilated the choicest labours of the god Vulcan to a work of *Dædalus*. As for the idea of an old scholiast, "that this passage alludes to a labyrinthian dance, instituted in commemoration of the escape of Theseus; and alludes to *Dædalus* merely as *Maitre du Ballet*;"—credat Judæus Apella!—the poet, no doubt, comparing a *work of art*, his comparison was *with a work of art*, and with a supposed if not real *work of Dædalus*: but the works of *Dædalus* were known to Pausanias, and he represents them as rude and imperfect. Had painting afforded a more perfect example of art, the poet would probably thence have drawn his assimilation; and from his wholly omitting such allusion, not only in this passage, but throughout his whole poem, we may fairly deduce that in his time the art of painting was in little, or in no degree known, or in Greece, or in the countries of Asia through which he travelled. As to the embroidered veils, &c. mentioned by the father of poetry; limning, or the art of the limner might have been, for ought I see in objection, much more ancient than that of the painter, and the first limning might have been *with threads* in fantastic border: but this subject would lead me beyond the proper limits of a note. Admitting the composition of the shield to be beautiful, we must allow the execution to be most difficult, nor in any degree feasible in an age which regarded *Dædalus* (*the first sculptor who departed from the rigid stile of the Egyptians*) as the greatest artist known, comparatively, in every branch of art; and it were ingenuous

to allow the shield of Achilles to have been the work of the poet Homer, nor to pretend that sculpture, painting, and even enamel, were arts in such perfection at that æra, as to have been capable of the accomplishment described. Pope, in his translation of the verses above cited, seems to have been aware of the stumbling block they contained to his ingenious criticism, and explanations of the shield, for he artfully substitutes the word *Dædalean* for *Dædalus*.

A figured dance succeeds ; such once was seen  
In lofty Gnosſus, for the Cretan queen  
Form'd by *Dædalean* art, a comely band  
Of youthful maidens bounding hand in hand.

Pope's Il. Book 18. v. 681.

Homer compares the choicest and most difficult work of art in his whole shield (namely a dance) to an actual *work of Dædalus* : the version " with *art Dædalean* " evades this circumstance ; for Pausanias, as has been stated in a previous note, mentions that the word *Δαίδαλα*, or " *Dædalean* " was antecedent to the age of *Dædalus*, and might of course be used without any reference to that artist. The four lines of Pope, far from a translation, are scarcely a paraphrase ; even Gnosſus is *lofty* instead of *spacious*.

NOTE [105.] Page 145.

The tree is supposed to have been the first type of architecture, as undoubtedly it was the first material : the avenue of the hallowed grove wherein the first rude altar was raised, suggested the forming such avenue of stone or marble ; the trunk of the tree was the type of the column ; the head, of its various capitals and orders, invented successively by ingenious man, thereafter intermingling his own arts and phantasies of building. As has been shown, the tree likewise afforded the first material of statuary : I will again cite Pausanias : *Δάναυς καὶ ὁ ναός, καὶ τὸ ξοάνον ἀναθήμα ἦν· ξοάνα γὰρ δὴ πότε εἶναι πειθόμεαι πάντῃ καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Αἰγυπτία* : " the temple and the statue too of Danaus  
" were



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" were of wood, and *all* the works of the highest antiquity, and particularly those of Ægypt, I am persuaded, were of the same material." Pausan. in Corinth. As the tree afforded the first material, may it not too have been the first type of statuary? May not two branches have remained for arms, and a root happily divided have given the legs of the first representation of the human figure, attempted in a rude kind of sculpture? Ovid hath with ingenuity metamorphosed the human figure into a tree:

Mollia cinguntur tenui præcordia libro,  
In frondem Crines, in Ramos brachia crescunt,  
Pes modo tam velox pigris radicibus hæret,  
Ora Cacumen obit. Ov. Metam. Lib. I. V. 550.

Is the antimetamorphosis difficult to conceive?

Jam caput e capite, et ramis jam brachia crescunt,  
Et videas prodire pedes radicibus imis,  
Et Truncus validum corpus fit viribus instans,  
Dum nares nodi, dumque os bene format hiatus  
Quo mel decurrit; neque deerunt mella loquenti!

## NOTE [106.] Page 145.

The outline is, and ever was, the most difficult for the student to master. The ancients in general, and even Apelles, painted with only four colours; " ex albis, melino; ex filaceis, Attico; ex rubris, sinopide pontico; ex nigris, atramento." Yet they found it easier to fill up, than to draw, the figure: Parrhasius confessione artificum in lineis extremis palmam adeptus; hæc est in picturâ summa subtilitas, corpora enim pingere et media rerum, est quidem magni operis, sed in quo multi gloriam tulerint: extrema corporum facere rarum in successu artis invenitur. Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 35. Cap. 10.

## NOTE

## NOTE [107.] Page 145.

The Sestine chapel in the Vatican is decorated with the Sibyls, and last judgment, painted by Michael Angelo Buonaroti.

## NOTE [108.] Page 145.

Of the single figures painted by the ancient masters, many have been described by Ælian, Pausanias, Lucian, Pliny, and others: of these more particularly may be noticed, “the figure of Cupid, by Pausias, “throwing away the bow, and assuming the lyre;” or the other by the same master, of “ebriety drinking from a chrystal goblet, and the “face seen through the chrystal;”—ἰδοὺς δ’ ἂν ἐν τῇ γράφῃ φιαλὴν τε ὕαλα, καὶ δι’ αὐτῆς γυναῖκος πρόσωπον. Pausan. in Corinth. We should remember too the picture by Theon, of the soldier rushing to battle, described by Ælian. Lib. 2. Cap. 44. Similar to the picture by Theon, are the Hoplitides, or two armed soldiers of Parrhasius; “alter in certamine “ita decurrens, ut fudere videatur; alter arma deponens, ut anhelare “sentiatur.” Plin. Lib. 35. Cap. 10. We should likewise advert to the examples of art mentioned in the “Pinotheca,” or picture-gallery described by Petronius, in which were many works of Apelles, who delighted much in single figures, and whose single figures were so many wonders of the art: “tantâ enim subtilitate extremitates imaginum “erant ad similitudinem precisæ, ut crederes etiam animorum esse “picturam.” Petron. Sat. Cap. 83. Having spoken of Apelles, his famous portrait of Alexander in the character of Jupiter, gives, even in description, a striking idea of the powers of that painter: “digiti “eminere videntur, et fulmen extrâ tabulam esse, sed legentes me- “minerint ea omnia *quatuor coloribus* facta.” Plin. Lib. 35. Cap. 10. If I am right in my supposition, that “the ancients were wholly ignorant of a *systematic perspective*,” their crowded compositions must have been most confused performances; and how much they were sometimes crowded, appears from the description of the *ῥέα πῶκιλη*. A mere

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detail of the subject of which, and of the names of the portraits delineated therein, taking up three whole pages in the folio edition of Pausanias : the burning of Troy, with every concomitant anecdote is fully treated ; the departure of the Grecian fleet, and every ship, and every chieftain, is particularly remarked ; the descent of Ulysses to the shades below, and all elysium, and the infernal regions are opened to the view ; above one hundred and fifty portraits are specified by names underwritten, and the figures and machinery besides are innumerable : a supposition of the extent of the gallery, and of the number of compartments, will neither relieve the artist or critic ; for *each* compartment or separate subject, required all the arts of aerial and lineal perspective, not to have been incongruous and unnatural. Some pictures indeed are extant, such as the marriage in the Aldobrandini collection, which consist of several figures elegantly arranged and composed ; but these pictures support our theory, when it is observed, that the figures are mostly on one plane, and appear like “ *paintings copied from basso relievo.*” The marriage of Alexander and Roxana, mentioned by Lucian, in his Eulogy of Herodotus, seems to have been of the same kind ; and from every relation of the ancient writers, as well as from the examples of art which remain, I think it may be deduced, that the best pictures of the ancient masters were those simple in their composition, and which required not a scientific perspective. No one who has seen merely the reliques of Herculaneum, or seen only the beautiful composition of the Cupid-merchant, can doubt but that their groupes were *independantly* excellent.—I wish I could add to the *existing* example above cited, a preservation of the charming composition of Zeuxis described by Lucian ; “ of a female centaur with her young, and the male centaur holding up a lion’s whelp in sportive terror to his own offspring.”

Lucian. in Zeuxide.

NOTE [109.] Page 146.

(Cinægirus) qui post prælii innumeras cædes, cum fugientes hostes ad naves egisset, onustam navem dextrâ manu tenuit; nec prius demisit, quàm manum amitteret, tum quoque amputatâ dextrâ, navem

sinistrâ comprehendit; quam et ipsam quum amisisset, ad postremum  
morfu navem detinuit. Justin. Hist. Lib. 2. Cap. 10.

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NOTE [110.] Page 146.

I am well aware that optics were a branch of mathematical science in the times I allude to: “Pars quædam Geometriæ *ὀπτική* appellatur, “quæ ad oculos pertinet; *ὀπτική* autem reddit causas cur visiones fallant, et quæ in aquâ conspiciuntur, majora ad oculos fiant;—quæ “*procul ab oculis sunt minora*. Aul. Gell. Lib. 16. Cap. 18. I have cited the above passage, as the only one I have read, which may be construed to hint at a *perspective rule*: though in my humble opinion such construction would be very forced.

NOTE [111.] Page 146.

Illud in his rebus longè fuge credere, Memmi,  
In medium summæ quod dicunt omnia niti,  
Atque ideo mundi naturam stare, sine ullis  
Ictibus externis, neque quoquam posse resolvi  
Summa atque ima, quòd in medium sint omnia nixa.  
Ipsum si quicquam posse in se sistere credis,  
Et quæ pondera sub terris sunt, omnia sursum  
Nitier, in terrâque retro requiescere pôsta;  
Ut per aquas quæ nunc rerum simulacra videmus,  
Et simili ratione animalia subtru' vagari  
Contendunt, neque posse e terris in loca cæli  
Recidere inferiora magis, quam corpora nostra  
Sponte suâ possint in cæli templa volare:  
Illi quum videant solem, nos sidera noctis  
Cernere, et alterni nobiscum tempora cæli  
Dividere, et noctes pariles agitare diesque.  
*Sed vanus solidis hæc omnia finxerit error.*

Lucret. Lib. 1.

Z z 2

Plato

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Plato seems to have been one of those comprized in the censures of Lucretius, his idea was, γιν' οὖσαν ἐπὶ τὰ μύστα κινεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸ μύστον. Diog. Laert. in vit. ejus.—In Note 99, there is a reference to Monsieur Bailly's treatise on the origin of sciences, &c.—to those who are not acquainted with that ingenious work, it may be necessary to mention generally its design, relative to such important truths as those stated by Anaxagoras, and those alluded to by Lucretius, and many others delivered by the ancient sophists. Mr. Bailly supposes, that—"the mere statement of important truths, the attainment of  
 " which required a certain process of knowledge and investigation,  
 " without any statement of that investigation and of the subordinate  
 " degrees of knowledge by which those truths were attained,—implies,  
 " that the philosophers who delivered such truths, whether in the shape  
 " of proposition, prediction, or deduction, were mere depositaries of  
 " those truths or axioms, traditionary from a more ancient and  
 " enlightened people, whose steps and gradations in science were lost,  
 " and of whom we have no account.

NOTE [112.] Page 147.

Thus Apelles confessed himself in the disposition of objects inferiour to Amphion, and in the designation of distances inferiour to Asclepiodorus—"Cedebat Amphioni de dispositione, Asclepiodoro  
 " de mensuris, hoc est quanto quid a quo distare deberet." Plin. Lib. 35. Cap. 10.—This could scarcely have happened to so learned and accomplished an artist as Apelles, had there in his time been *rules of perspective* to work by.

A P P E N D I X.

# A P P E N D I X.

## N O T E S, &c.

### B O O K T H E S E C O N D.

#### N O T E [113.] Page 153.

(ΣΩΚΡΑΤ. ειπ.)—αλλὰ τὸδ', εἶπε ἐπὶ τῇ ἡ ἐι λεγόνῃαι Ἀθηναῖοι δία C H A P.  
 Περικλέα βελτίους γεγονέναι, ἢ ὡς τῶναντιον διαφθαρῆναι ὑπ' ἐκείνου. ταυτί I.  
 γὰρ ἐγώ γε ἀκῶ Περικλέα πεποιῆκεναι Ἀθηναῖς ἄργας καὶ δειλὰς καὶ λαλὰς καὶ φιλαρ-  
 γυρας εἰς μισθοφόραν πᾶρα τὸν καλῆσαντα.—(Socrates) “ tell me then if  
 “ the Athenians were the better for, or on the contrary corrupted by  
 “ the administration of Pericles?—for I have heard that Pericles ren-  
 “ dered the Athenians indolent, enervate, licentious, and mercenary,  
 “ by the venal practices which he introduced among them.” Platon.  
 Gorg. Dialog. N. B. I have rendered the word μισθοφόραν in a gene-  
 ral sense, but perhaps Plato had a specific allusion to the stipend for  
 attendance on public questions, instituted during the administration of  
 Pericles, vid. Aristot. Pol. Lib. 2. Cap. 10. et Lib. 6. Cap. 2.

#### N O T E [114.] Page 153.

The character of Pompey drawn by Lucan in his *Pharsalia*, tallies  
 in so many respects with that of Pericles, as delineated in the second  
 book

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## .I

book of Thucydides, that probably the poet borrowed from the historian:—some leading features of the following characters will too, I doubt not, recall to the reader's mind, the memory of a late British statesman,—Ἐκεῖνος μὲν δυνάστης ἐν τῷ τέ αἰσιμαλίῃ καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ. . . . . χρημάτων δαφανῶς ἀδωρότατος γιγνομένης. . . . . καλεῖται τό πλῆθος ἐλευθέρως, καὶ ἐκ ἡγέο μάλλον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἢ αὐτοῦ ἡγε. . . . . ἐγγίγνεται τε λόγῳ μὲν δημοκρατία, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπο τῷ πρώτῳ ἀνδρὸς ἀρχῇ. . . . . Thucyd. Lib. 2. sect. 65.

With views to the *latter application* I shall give the beautiful speech of Cato in the Pharfalia at length.

- “ Civis obit (inquit) multo majoribus impar
- “ Nosse modum juris, sed in hoc tamen utilis ævo,
- “ Cui non ulla fuit iusti reverentia;—salvâ
- “ Libertate, potens, et solus, plebe paratâ,
- “ Privatus, parere sibi:—Rectorque Senatûs
- “ Sed regnantis erat; nil belli jura poposcit,
- “ Quæque dari voluit, voluit sibi posse negari:
- “ Immodicas possedit opes, sed plura retentis
- “ Intulit; invasit ferrum, sed ponere nôrat:
- “ Prætulit arma togæ, sed pacem armatus amavit.
- “ Juvit sumpta ducem, juvit dimissa potestas:
- “ Casta domus, luxuque carens, corruptaque nunquam
- “ Fortunâ domini;—Clarum et venerabile nomen
- “ Gentibus, et multum nostræ quod proderat urbi!

Lucan. Pharsal. Lib. 9. v. 190.

## NOTE [115.] Page 155.

Plutarch relates a conversation between Pericles and Alcibiades, in which the former observing “ that his thoughts were employed, in “ the consideration of how to make up his public accounts to the “ public assembly:”—Alcibiades answered,—“ rather consider how “ to avoid the being under a necessity of giving any account at all.” Plutarch thence intimates the motive of Pericles, for embroiling his country in a war, which might engage the minds of the citizens, and prevent their adverting to his state of responsibility. A meaner motive, and

and one less suitable to the character of Pericles, was objected to him by the comic writers: Among the conditions on which the Spartans insisted, (and in default of the acceptance of which, they denounced war,) was the opening the ports of Attica to the people of Megara; and says the comic poet, " Pericles rejected wholly these terms, merely " because the Megarensians had offended Aspasia.

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I.

Πορνὴν δὲ Σιμαίθαν ἰόντες Μεγαῖρα δὲ  
Νεάνεαι κλέπτεσι μεθύσοκῶτα βοί  
Κάθ' οἱ Μεγαρῆς ὀδύναις πεφυσὶνωμένοι  
Ἀνέξεκλεψαν Ασπασίας πόρνα δύο.  
Κἀνέϋθεν ἀρχὴ τῷ πόλεμῳ κατεργαγῇ  
Ἑλλήσι πᾶσιν ἐκ τριῶν λαικάστρων.  
Ἐνέϋθεν ὄργῃ Περικλῆς Ὀλύμπιος  
Ἦστ' ἀπ' ἐν, ἰβροῦλᾶ, συνεκύνεα τήν Ἑλλάδα.

Αἰχμνῆς Aristoph. Comæd.

Some youths of Athens in their cups went forth  
To Megara, and thence did carry off  
By force, the whore Simætha: in return,  
The youth of Megara by resentment urged,  
Bore off two girls from th' brothel of Aspasia.  
Hence the dire war which burst upon the Greeks  
In every part;—by three lewd Harlots caus'd!  
Hence the Olympian Pericles did rage,  
Hence lighten, storm, and urge the fates of Greece!

NOTE [116.] Page 157.

Pericles died two years and six months after the commencement of the Peloponnesian war. Thucyd. Lib. 2. Sect. 65.

Unless Isocrates exaggerates, Pericles must have been a most able, as well as disinterested financier, on his decease leaving in the treasury eight thousand talents, being two thousand more than were in it, when the war commenced. καὶ τοι Περικλῆς ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων δημαγωγὸς καλῶς, παραλάβει.



CHAP. παραλάβων τὴν πόλιν χειρῶ μιν φρονέσαν ἢ πρὶν καθίσχειν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἵτι δὲ  
 I. ἀνεκίως μιν πολιτεύομενην ἔκ ἐπὶ τὸν ἰδίον χρηματισμῶν ὤρμησεν ἄλλα τὸν μιν οἶκον  
 ἐλατῶ τὸν ἐαυτοῦ κατελίπεν, ἢ παρὰ τῷ πατρί παρελάβεν. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν  
 ἀννήγκεν ὀκταχίσχιλια ταλάντα. “ Pericles, antecedent to the power of  
 “ the demagogues I have above-mentioned, taking on him the go-  
 “ vernment, presided over a republic, the worse indeed for his uncon-  
 “ stitutional influence, but yet administered with a temperate use of  
 “ authority : private rights and property were safe during his ministry ;  
 “ and he left his house less opulent than he received it from his ances-  
 “ tors, whilst for the public treasury he had collected eight thousand  
 “ talents.” Isocrat. Orat. περὶ Ἐιρήνης.

## NOTE [117.] Page 158.

The dominion of Athens was certainly not less extensive at this æra than in the times of Aristophanes.

Ἔσιν γὰρ πόλεις σχιλίας, αἱ νῦν τοῦ φόρου ὑμῖν ὑπαγνῶσι,  
 Τῶν ἑικοσιν ἀνδρας βόσκειν, εἰ τίς προσείαξεν ἐκάστη.  
 Δύο μυριάδες τῶν δημότων ἐζῶν ἐν πάσι λαγῶσι.

“ We have one thousand cities tribute paying,  
 “ Each order twenty citizens to feed,  
 “ And twenty thousand then shall live in lux’ry.  
 Vespes. Comæd.

## NOTE [118.] Page 158.

In an ancient war with Sparta, a brave band of the inhabitants of old Messene, when that city was stormed by the Lacedæmonians, forced their way through the assailants, and settling at Naupactus, ever after nurtured an hereditary enmity against their ancient foe.

Pausan. in Messen.

## NOTE

## NOTE [119.] Page 159.

In consequence of the perfidy of the Platæans in their cruel treatment of their prisoners contrary to an express compact, their town was afterwards invested by the confederate forces; and the first military detail of a siege is on the occasion given us by Thucydides. The whole account is very circumstantial, and the complete science of attack and defence in the degrees they were in those times understood may be gathered from that very curious and interesting recital.

Thucyd. Lib. 2. &c. 3.

## NOTE [120.] Page 163.

The account of the plague at Athens, in the second book of Thucydides, is a most accurate detail of the progress of that distemper, and tallies so closely with the history of that dreadful malady in its several stages, as described by Boccacio in his preface to the *Decamerone*,—in the officers journal at Marseilles,—and in the citizens' account of the plague at London, that the identity of the disorder cannot be doubted; and more particularly as the Greek historian, traces the disease from upper Ægypt to Asia, and thence to Athens. I have heard Dr. Samuel Johnson declare, that the *Citizens' account of the plague at London*, quoted by Dr. Mead, in his Treatise on Poisons, as an authentic work, is a *mere romance*, written by the ingenious Daniel de Foe: I cannot persuade myself that the work is not authentic; Daniel de Foe may have been the Editor; but I think that he or some other compiler was in possession of authentic documents. I read the book under strong prepossession in favor of Dr. Johnson's authority; but the result of my reading the book was the rejecting that authority.—Some few of the anecdotes interspersed in that interesting work may possibly have been added, and others heightened by Daniel de Foe's admirable fancy.

## NOTE [121.] Page 165.

This treaty or compact, as far as the allies were concerned, was illusive, or no compact at all; for the subordinate parties in the war, whether free or subsidiary states, were left wholly at the discretion of Athens and Sparta, by a saving clause which left an opening to any, and to every new article of arrangement, which those imperious republics Athens and Sparta, might at any subsequent time suggest and agree to. Τὴν δὲ τί δοκῇ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις προσθεῖναι καὶ ἀφαιλεῖν περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας, ὃ, τι ἂν δοκῇ ἐνὸρμον ἀμφοτέροις εἶναι. “Whatever hereafter it may seem good to the Lacedæmonians and to the Athenians, to add to, or to subtract from, this treaty; be it done with good faith.” Thucyd. Lib. 5.

## NOTE [122.] Page 166.

In the chapter of this work, treating of the legislation of Solon, and in every other passage touching the institutions of the commonwealth, I have omitted any pretensions to ascertain the age, at which the citizen arrived at his full rights and powers. *Thirty years* hath been the age ordinarily agreed on by the critics. Alcibiades was at this time only *six and twenty*. Vid. Not. ad Sect. 41. Lib. 5. Thucyd. ed. Dukeri. Thucydides indeed hath the expression, ἡλικία μὲν τότε ὡς νέος, ἀξιώματι δὲ πρόγονων τιμῶμενος. Another question of equal difficulty then occurs, as to how far, and in what cases the plea of ancestry, or of personal merit, might supersede ordinary regulations?

## NOTE [123.] Page 169.

The circumstance of commerce and liberty mutually sustaining and fostering each other, is strongly exemplified in a fact stated by Aristotle,

totle, who observes, that the merchants and mariners of the Piræus, were of a more democratic turn and spirit than those of the upper town : 'Αθήνησιν οὐχ' ὁμοίως εἰσιν ἄλλα μᾶλλον δημότικοι οἱ Πειραιᾶ οἰκῶντες τῶν τὸ ἄστυ. Polit. Lib. 5. Cap. 3. so too Book 1. Chap. 6. of this treatise, we find that Pisistratus taking the popular part, and pretending to assert general liberty and enfranchisement, the Παράλιοι supported him in opposition to the Πεδιαῖοι.

NOTE [124.] Page 170.

Καὶ τῷ οὐτὶ τὸ ἄγαν τὶ ποιεῖν, μεγάλην φέλει εἰς τ' ἐναντίον μετὰ βόλην ἀντάπο-  
διδόναι, ἐν ὥραις τε, καὶ ἐν φύτοις, καὶ ἐν σώμασι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν πολιτείαις ἔχ' ἡκιστά.  
“ In fact great exertion is wont most quickly to recoil, and the most  
“ flourishing state of things to suffer the strongest vicissitude; nor does  
“ this apply merely to instances of seasons, of plants, and of animal  
“ bodies, but particularly to political bodies.” Platon. Pol. Lib. 8.

NOTE [125.] Page 170.

Aristotle in his politics, Lib. 7. Cap. 6. treats of the commercial or mercantile body in a state; and in his enquiries into what kind of inhabitants are best, by no means admits as such the trading part; looking on their practices as introducing a principle most dangerous to the morals of the people, and to the regular conduct of the commonwealth. In every state merely commercial, as riches are the exclusive object, avarice must be the ruling principle; and how far such principle is calculated to overpower and bear down all other motives and springs of action, when once fully admitted, is too obvious to require any detail of argument. Plato thereon says,—“ τοὺν εὖθεν τοινοῦν  
“ προῖοντες εἰς τὸ προσθέν χρηματίζεσθαι, ὅσῳ ἂν τέλο τιμωρίῳ ἤχωνται τοσαύτη  
“ ἀρετὴν ἀξιμότεραν. . . . ἀντὶ δὴ φιλονεικῶν καὶ φιλοσίμων ἀνδρῶν, φιλοχρημά-  
“ τισαι καὶ φιλοχρημάτων τελευτήσῃς ἐγενόνη.” “ Thenceforward looking  
“ alone to the acquisition of wealth, in proportion as they appreciate  
“ that, they depreciate virtue; and from being emulative of danger

CHAP.  
II.

“ and glory, become mere competitors in avarice and accumulation.”  
 Plat. Pol. Lib. 8. Wealth not only being sought as the means of enjoyment, but as a source too of honours and respect;—this is the criterion of extreme degeneracy of public manners, whence may be prognosticated the worst evils, and vicissitudes, a community is liable to : for such depraved competition for the means of undue influence, as well as of vice, must dissolve every tie of public virtue and justice, which holds a state together.

## NOTE [126.] Page 172.

Nicias, in a long speech preserved by Thucydides, disapproved of the expedition he was sent to command ; and, says the historian, “ Alcibiades was an advocate for the enterprize, merely from views of opposition to Nicias,”—*βυλόμενος τῇ τε Νίκιᾳ ἐναντιῶσθαι* so that a General was sent who liked not his command, and a colleague sent with him who would certainly thwart and oppose it.

## NOTE [127.] Page 173.

Alcibiades was charged with having irreverently attacked the images of Mercury, which throughout the city were all broken and defaced in one night. Thucyd. Lib. 6. These sacred Mercuries had been erected “ in triviis et compitis” by Hipparchus. Platon. Hipparch. Dial.—They were a sort of *Termini*, and in form *τέτραγωνοι*, the head and shoulders of a Mercury terminating in a square block, and the private parts alone relieved from the flat superficies in front. Pausan. in Messen.

## NOTE [128.] Page 176.

It is well known that the Athenians were much addicted to theatrical amusements, of which we have a remarkable instance preserved by Athenæus ; who says, “ that when the account of the total loss of the  
 “ army

“ army in Sicily arrived, though that fatal event comprized objects of  
 “ domestic concern, affecting every family in Athens, yet being first  
 “ announced in the theatre, the sense of public danger and of private  
 “ grief were for a while lost in the attention of the audience to Hege-  
 “ mon, a favourite actor then on the stage; and Hegemon went  
 “ through his entire part without interruption; nor did a citizen quit  
 “ the theatre, ’ere the performance was closed.” Athenæ, Lib. 9. P. 407.  
 Indeed the predilection for dramatic performances seems at this æra  
 to have pervaded every republic as far as Sicily: for we are told (I  
 think by the same author) that the Syracusans released from the La-  
 tomies, many of their prisoners, and gave them life and liberty as the  
 price of their repeating some of the moral lines of Euripides.

NOTE [129.] Page 177.

If Pericles had ever any design on Sicily, or other object in the Ita-  
 lian seas, he certainly never meant to enforce, or to carry into execu-  
 tion such scheme, whilst engaged in war with the Peloponnesians;  
 during hostilities with whom, the maxims of that great statesman were  
 as follow: “ To pursue the war temperately and with perseverance;”  
 “ —to throw all their force of service into the naval line;”—“ to at-  
 “ tempt no encrease of dominion from the war;”—and lastly, “ never  
 “ to leave open and exposed to hazard and sudden enterprize, their  
 “ docks, arsenals, or, in a word, their city:”—pursuing which system,  
 Pericles doubted not, but that his countrymen would finally gain a su-  
 periority in the contest; but says the historian “ on the demise of Pe-  
 “ ricles, the Athenians acted in every respect contrary.”—ὁ μὲν γὰρ  
 ἡσυχάζοντος τέ, καὶ τὸ ναυικὸν θεραπεύοντος, καὶ ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐπικλινόμενος ἐν τῷ  
 πόλεμῳ, μήτε πόλει κινδυνεύοντος ἐφ’ ἡ περιστάσει. . . . οἱ δὲ ταῦτα τε πάντα  
 εἰς τὸναν ἐπράξαν. Thucyd. Lib. 2. Sect. 65.

NOTE

## NOTE [130.] Page 179.

CHAP. It doth not immediately occur to me where I read the inscription  
 III. alluded to in the text, and which specified an enormous quantity of  
 wine drank.—The epitaph of Darius was to the same effect, i. e. boasting of accomplishment or feats in drinking.

Ἡδυναμὴν καὶ οἶνον πίνειν πολὺν, καὶ τῷτον φέρειν καλῶς.

“ Much I could drink, and, what is more,  
 “ The wine I drank, full well I bore.”

Athenæ, Lib. 10. P. 434.

## NOTE [131.] Page 179.

The character of Alcibiades recalls to mind that given by Livy of Antiochus,—“ adeoque nulli fortunæ adhærebat animus, per omnia  
 “ genera vitæ errans, uti nec sibi nec aliis, quinam homo sit, satis  
 “ constaret.” T. Liv. Hist. Lib. 41.

## NOTE [132.] Page 184.

How far the constitution of the commonwealth was subverted or controuled by Alcibiades, may be gathered from the following anecdote : “ Hegemon the actor having been formally accused of a capital  
 “ crime, solicited the interest and interposition of Alcibiades ; who  
 “ accompanying him to the Metrœon or temple of Ceres, where the  
 “ charge was exhibited, wetted his finger and passed it over the indictment, and thus erased it to the great umbrage of the Prytanes  
 “ and

“ and secretary, who were present, but who restrained their resentment  
 “ from dread of Alcibiades : the accusers of Hegemon then fled the  
 “ city.” Athenæ, Lib. 9. P. 407. From the fact above cited, the  
 reader may be induced to pronounce, “ the conquests of Lyfander not  
 “ so fatal an interruption to the freedom of the republic :”—Resistance  
 was an effect of the oppressions of a foreign power ; but proba-  
 bly corruption would have enervated the slaves to domestic usurpation.

CHAP.

III.

## NOTE [133.] Page 190.

Machiavel hath taken the subject alluded to in the text in another  
 point of view, and hath briefly treated of it, with a force of sentiment  
 and language, peculiar to his strong and penetrating genius.—“ Fa  
 “ bene la fortuna questa, che ella elegge un uomo, quando ella voglia  
 “ condurre cose grandi, di tanto spirito e di tantè virtù, che e’ conosca  
 “ quelle occasioni che ella lui porge : con medesima mente, quando  
 “ ella voglia condurre grandi rovine, ella si propone uomini che aiu-  
 “ tino quella rovina ; e se alcuno fusse che vi potesse ostare, ó ella lo  
 “ amazza, ó lo priva di tutte le facultà di poter operare alcuno bene.”  
 Machiav. Discors. Lib. 2. Cap. 29. The character, the conduct, the  
 life, and the death of Alcibiades, afford ample subjects of application  
 to the theory of Machiavel.

## NOTE [134.] Page 191.

From the time the empire of the seas was conceded to Athens by the  
 other Grecian states after the defeat of Xerxes, to the capture of Athens  
 by Lyfander, was sixty-eight years ; and so long was that state termed  
 “ sovereign of the seas.”—*Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτὰς μόνον ἤρξαν τῆς παρὰ τὴν  
 θοῶν δίοσις ἐβδόμηκόντα ἔτη.* Dionys. Hal. Ant. Rom. Lib. 1.

NOTE



## NOTE [135.] Page 194.

C H A P.

IV.

Socrates had, if any heathen ever had,—“ that clear mental vision  
 “ which reached the nature of that being, always the same; and sem-  
 “ piternal, and not moving with others in the circle of successive gene-  
 “ ration and extinction:” ὁρῶσιν μαθηματικὸς ὅσα ἀν ἀνιῶνται (τὴν φύσιν) ἐκείνης  
 τῆς ἔσεως, τῆς αἰεὶ ἔσης καὶ μὴ πλανώμενης ὑπο γενέσεως καὶ φθόρας. Plat. Pol.  
 Lib. 6. Look too in the Essay of Apuleius *de deo Socratis*, wherein the  
 abstract idea of pure spirit leads to the god of Socrates. To such he  
 prayed, to such he trusted, and among various and genuine attributes  
 of the Holy Spirit, rested on a divine *providence*, the immediate and  
 tutelary care of an ever-present and guardian Deity: in the Phædon of  
 Plato, the ordinary epithet given by Socrates to the Supreme Being, is  
 “ Superintendant or Guardian,”—Θεὸς ἐπιμελουῦμενος. Resignation too was  
 among his tenets as a duty of religion;—this is observable in the  
 Phædon and Crito of Plato, and in the Memorabilia of Xenophon,  
 and in various other passages; but no where more strikingly expressed,  
 than in the following one of Epictetus.—ὃ τὶ λέγει ἐκεῖνος; ἐμε δ’ ἄνθρωπος  
 καὶ Μελίτος ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν δυνάμει, βλάψαι δ’ οὐ καὶ πάλιν. εἰ ταύτῃ τῷ Θεῷ  
 φίλει, ταύτῃ γένησθω.—And what does Socrates say?—“ Anytus and  
 “ Melitus may put me to death, but they cannot hurt me:” and  
 again,—“ if such be the will of God, may his will be done!” Epictet.  
 Διατριβ. Lib. 1. Cap. 39. The character of Socrates is described  
 by the younger Pliny, when he says: “ Ego optimum et emendatissi-  
 “ mum existimo, qui cæteris ita ignoscit, tanquam ipse quotidie pec-  
 “ cet; ita peccatis abstinet, tanquam nemini ignoscat.” Lib. 8. Ep. 2.  
 hence some even of the Fathers of the Church, have gone so far in  
 expressing their admiration of the character of Socrates, as to term  
 him a Christian.

NOTE

## NOTE [136.] Page 198.

Τι γὰρ μάθονθ' ὑβριζέτον γ' εἰς τῆς θεῆς  
 Καὶ τῆς Σεληνῆς ἐσκόπεισθαι τὴν ἰδραν;  
 Δίωκε, βάλλει, παῖε, πόλλον ἐνέκασ  
 Μάλιστα δ' εἶδως, τῆς θεῆς ὡς ἤδικῶν.

Aristoph. Νεφελ. Comæd.

## NOTE [137.] Page 198.

Macrobius proves that Plato had not even respect to Chronology in the choice of Persons for his Dialogues; as for instance, of Parmenides, Timæus, Pagalus, and Xantippus. Satyricon. Lib. 1. Cap. 1.

## NOTE [138.] Page 200.

The historical part of this chapter, is a mere epitome of the Analysis of Xenophon.

## NOTE [139.] Page 207.

.... at (Gens Romana) Historiâ non cesserit Græcis; nec oppo-  
 nere Thucydidi Sallustium verear; nec indignetur sibi Herodotus  
 æquari Titum Livium: nam mihi egregiè dixisse videtur Servilius  
 Nonianus, *pares eos magis quam similes*:—Qui et ipse a nobis auditus  
 est, clari vir ingenii et sententiis creber, sed minus pressus, quam  
 historiæ auctoritas postulat: Quintil. Inst. Orat. Lib. 10. Cap. 1.  
 Tacitus seems to have filled up that part of the character of a perfect  
 historian, which Quintilian thought wanting in Nonianus.

## NOTE [140.] Page 212.

CHAP.  
VI.

On whatever grounds or principles of equality the institutions of a commonwealth may have been originally founded, a *Nobility* must and will establish itself in process of time, ἡ γὰρ εὐγένεια ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖος πλοῦτος καὶ ἀρετή. “for nobility is merely ancient wealth and virtue.” Aristot. Pol. Lib. 8. Cap. 4. Besides, as Plato observes, “manners are ever subject to fluctuation and change, and in their rapid course, draw into the current, state-constitution and policy.”—πολιτείας γιγνίσθαι ἐκ τῶν ἡθῶν τῶν ἐν πόλεσι, οἱ ἄν ὥσπερ ρευσάνηαι ἄλλὰ ἐφελκυσθῆται—  
Platon. Pol. L. 8.

## NOTE [141.] Page 212.

Tacitus makes a similar observation, on the language and conduct of the Romans, when the death of Augustus was hourly expected: “*Pauci bona libertatis incassum differere, pars bellum pavescere, alij cupere:*” Ann. 1. but the Romans were at that time in so dissolute a state, as incapacitated them from the receiving, and much more from the asserting their ancient liberties. The Athenians had not yet reached that climax of corruption, to the mouldering point on which freedom loses all hold. It hath been repeatedly urged, that for a people to continue free, they must in a certain degree be virtuous: independency of spirit under circumstances of subjection to every mean, and to every dissolute passion is a paradox in politics; whilst those passions must ever impel a corrupt and dissipated nation to barter that independancy, for the means of habitual and sensual gratification; and the more so, as vitiated minds cannot duly estimate or enjoy the blessings which a pure spirit feels, in the importance and exercise of self-controul; without which liberty is licentiousness, and a republic anarchy. I shall quote an example from Machiavel’s Discourses, as confirming

confirming the theory :—" Non si vede il più forte esempio che quello  
 " di Roma, la quale, cacciati i Tarquini, poté subito prendere e  
 " mantenere quella libertà: ma morto Cesare, morto C. Caligula,  
 " morto Nerone, spenta tutta la stirpe Cesarea, non poté mai, non sola-  
 " mente mantenere, ma pure dare principio alla libertà; ne tanta diver-  
 " sità di avvenimento in una medesima città nacque del' altro, se non  
 " esser' nei tempi dei Tarquini il popolo Romano ancora corrotto, e  
 " in questi ultimi Tempi essere corrottissimo."

C H A P.  
 VI.

Machiav. Discors. Lib. 1. Cap. 17.

N O T E [142.] Page 212.

Thrasybulus had seventy followers, says Xenophon, Hist. 2. Sect. 4. Sixty, says Pausanias in Atticis. Thirty, says Cornelius Nepos in Vit. ejus. I have taken the larger number, as stamping the greater probability on the fact: it was heroic, and true heroism needs not amplification. The Munychia was a peninsulated mound covering the harbour of the Piræus; it merely required the entrenching the neck of land joining it with the continent, to render it a post almost impregnable. Of this situation Thrasybulus availed himself.—*Λίφος δε ἐστὶν Μουνυχία χερρόνησιζων.* Strabo. Lib 9.

N O T E [143.] Page 213.

The author of that name recording the story, gives the conduct of Pausanias an honourable pretext; he says it was founded on the sentiment, that it was neither just or expedient for the arms of Sparta, to abett the tyranny of such atrocious despots, as then lorded it over the lives and properties of the Athenians. Pausan. in Lacon. These were the ostensible reasons which the King pleaded before his judges. Xenoph. Hist. 2.

## NOTE [144.] Page 214.

... δία τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν τριακόντα μανίαν, πᾶσις δημικώτεροι γεγονάμεν, τῶν Φύλων καὶ ἀλάβουλων. Isocrat. Orat. περὶ 'Ειρήνης.

## NOTE [145.] Page 215.

The Spartans, resenting the behaviour of the Eleans towards their champions at the public games, and likewise the slight put on their king Agis, by refusing him the liberty of sacrificing to Jupiter in their Temple, denounced war against that people. An expression of Xenophon, strongly marks the supremacy of, and general respect shewn to, Sparta, at this time. “*παῖσαι γὰρ τότε οἱ πόλεις ἐπύθοντο ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ ἀτρίαι.*” Xenoph. Hist. Lib. 3.

## NOTE [146.] Page 216.

Polybius says, *ten* thousand heavy armed troops, but I know not what better authority himself could have had than that of Xenophon.

## NOTE [147.] Page 216.

... βίος τοῖς πλείστοις ὑμῶν ἀπο τῆς θαλάττης, ὥστε τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμελῆμενοι, ἅμα καὶ τῶν κατὰ θαλάτταν ἀγώνων ἐμπεῖροι γένεσθε. Xenoph. Hist. Lib. 7.

## NOTE [148.] Page 217.

The successes of Agesilaus in Asia do not seem so extraordinary, when it is observed, that he enlisted the remainder of the Greeks who made the famous retreat from the battle of Cyrus, “*Ἀγησίλαος δὲ τῷ στρατόπεδῳ Κύρου χρῶμενος.*” Isocrat. Paneg. but the consequences  
of

of the expedition of Agesilaus, were ruinous to those it was undertaken in favour of; for the Ionians and others, who, induced by the immediate successes of this enterprising king, engaged heartily with him in the cause, were ultimately left defenceless victims to the rage of "the great king." Ibid.

NOTE [149.] Page 217.

There is much good sense in the observation of Isocrates alluding to the evils the Spartans incurred when attempting to become a naval power, for which their institutions and themselves were so ill calculated. Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ αὐτοὺς τότε δοξάντας εὐλύχειν, εἰς τὰς νῦν ἀτυχίας δι' Ἀλκιβιάδην καθεστάναι. πειθύντες γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς κατὰ θαλάσσαν δυνάμεως ἐπιθυμῆσαι, καὶ τὴν κατὰ γῆν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπωλέσαν. ὥς ἐστις φαίη τότε τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς γίγνεσθαι τῶν παρόντων κακῶν, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἐλαμβάνον, ἔχ' αὖ ἐξελεγχθεὶς ψευδομένους. "The Lacedæmonians may be made appear, to " owe their reverse of fortune to Alcibiades; for at his instigation, " when at their height of prosperity, attempting to become a naval " power, they lost their military superiority: so that should any one " date their decline from the æra when they coveted the empire of " the seas, he would not be wide of the truth"

Isocrat. Orat. ad Philipp.

NOTE [150.] Page 219.

... καὶ τὴν μὲν ἡμετέραν (πολιτείαν) εὐροῖ τις ἂν, ἀπαντῶν αὐτῇ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιθεμένων, ἐτι δέκα (εἴη) τῷτοις ἀνίσχειν δυναθεῖσαν. καὶ πρὸς τῷτοις (χρονοῖς) τὴν μὲν ἡμέτεραν πόλιν ἐλαττόσιν ἐτεσι ἀναβαλῶσιν αὐτὴν ἢ κατεπόλεμηθη. Isocrat. Panath.

NOTE [151.] Page 219.

... ἐκ δὲ τῶν οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ὥσπερ ἐν Ἐιρηνῇ ἐπλείον τῇ θαλάττῃ.

Xenoph. Hist. 7.

NOTE

## NOTE [152.] Page 220.

ἌΡΤΑΞΕΡΞΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ νόμιζει δικαῖον τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις ἑαυτῷ εἶναι. καὶ τῶν νησῶν Κλαζομένας καὶ Κύπρον. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις καὶ μικρὰς καὶ μεγάλας αὐτονόμους ἀφείναι. πλὴν Λήμνου καὶ Ἰμβρου καὶ Σκίρου. Ταῦτας, ὥσπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἶναι Ἀθηναίων. Ὅσοί τε δὲ ταυτὴν Εἰρηνὴν μὴ δεχόμενται, τοῖσι ἑγὼ πολεμήσω μετὰ τῶν ταῦτα βυλομένων καὶ πίξῃ καὶ κάτω θάλατταν, καὶ ναῦσι καὶ χερήμασιν. Xenoph. Hist. Lib. 5. Sect. 2.

## NOTE [153.] Page 221.

Pella was but a small town before the reign of Philip : ὅτι τὴν Πέλλαν μικρὰν οὖσαν πρότερον Φιλίππος εἰς μῆκος ἡὔξησε τράφεις ἐν αὐτῇ. Strabo. Lib. 7. yet we have in Xenophon's histories, καὶ Πελλαν ἥπερ μέγιστη τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεων. Hist. 5. Probably Macedonia was at that time for the most part inhabited *vicatim*, as was ancient Greece.

## NOTE [154.] Page 222.

There is something unaccountable in the disproportion of the Theban and Spartan armies, and in the result of victory, when adverting to the nature of the arms in use at that time, and the spirit of the parties engaged. I take it however from the authority of a military writer : Epaminondas dux Thebanorum quatuor millibus hominum ex quibus quadringenti tantum equites erant, Lacedæmoniorum exercitum viginti quatuor millium peditum, equitum mille et sexcentorum vicit. Frontin. Stratag. Lib. 4. Cap. 2. and what was most extraordinary, the Thebans are said to have had only forty-seven killed, and the Spartans above a thousand. Pausan. in Boeot.

## NOTE

## NOTE [155.] Page 223.

Epaminondas was killed by a dart thrown by Gryllus, the son of Xenophon. Pausan. in Bœot. Gryllus fell afterwards in the battle. Ælian. Lib. 3. Cap. 3. Philopæmen was in aftertimes ambitious of being put in parallel with Epaminondas, but he failed in the comparison from the very superior virtues and accomplishments, in philosophy as well as arms of the Theban hero. Pausan. in Arcad. The battle of Mantinea was a drawn battle—"νενικηκέναι δε φασκόντες ἑκάτεροι ἔτε χάρα, ἥτε πάλαι, ἢ τ' ἀρχῇ ἕδτεροι ἕδεν πλέον ἔχοντες ἐφανήσαν, ἢ πρὶν τὴν μάχην γίγνεσθαι." Xenoph. Hist. Lib. 7.

## NOTE [156.] Page 223.

A sentence of Livy is particularly happy, and applicable in general, as well as to the instance he adduces,—"*ex copiâ deinde lascivire rursus animi, et pristina mala postquam foris deerant, domi quærere.*" Liv. Hist. Tom. 1. P. 179. Ed. Gronov.

## NOTE [157.] Page 224.

Xenophon, who was an intimate friend of Agesilaus, whose panegyric he wrote, and who was generally too a most partial admirer of the Spartans, allows that about this time, they were much fallen from the purity of their ancient manners and original institution; and mentions thereon a fact, which may lead us to suppose even a greater degree of degeneracy, than he is willing explicitly to remark: καὶ προσθὲν μὲν ὁρᾶν αὐτοὺς φοβεῖσθαι χρυσίου ἔχοντας φαίνεσθαι, νῦν δ' εἶναι οὓς καὶ καλλωπίζομεν ἐπὶ τὸ κεκλήσθαι. "I have formerly known those (Spartans) who had gold, at least fearful or ashamed to make it known, but now the possession is become matter of boast and ostentation."

Xenoph. Pol. Lacon. Cap. 14.



## NOTE [158.] Page 228.

CHAP.  
VII.. . . . Θάνατος της ζήμιας επικειμένης ἢν τις ἀλῶ δεκάζων, τες τὸτο φανέρωσιν  
ποινῆς γράτης χειροῦνται. Isocrat. Orat. περι 'Ειρηνος.—νὺν δ' ἀπανθ' ὡσπέρ ἐξ ἀγορας εκπαραῖται ταυτά. ἀνιστῆναι δὲ ἀντὶ τῶτων  
ὕφ' ὧν ἀπόλωλε καὶ νεύσῃεν ἡ Ἑλλας. ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τὶς ζήλος ἐν τὶς εἰληφὲ τὶ.  
γέλως, ἀν' ὁμολογῇ. συγγνώμη τοις ἐλεγχομένοις. μῖσος ἀν' τοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ μᾶ.

Demosthen. Φιλίππ. 3.

## NOTE [159.] Page 228.

ΜΝΗΣΙΛΟΧΟΣ.—Ω πρῶταυ, πρὸς της δεξίας ἤνπερ φίλεις

Κοιλὴν προσεῖναι, ἀργῦρεον ἢ τις διδῶ

Χάρισται βράχυν τὶ μοι. V. 936.

Thesmoph. Comœd. Aristophanis.

## NOTE [160.] Page 232.

I transcribe not the original passages from Demosthenes, having in the following chapters so frequently cited that orator, that to enter in these notes on each occasion the original passage, would swell them to a too great bulk ; having in almost every instance specified the section, the learned reader may readily recur to the passage in the edition of Paris.

## NOTE [161.] Page 233.

Diogenes Laertius says, that Demetrius the Magnesian asserted, the essays on the republics of Athens and Sparta not to have been written by Xenophon : Laertius, however, accepts them as Xenophon's, and  
fo

so generally do the learned. The resentment of Xenophon towards his countrymen, arose from those contingencies of life, which often form and give a colour to the opinions of men. Cyrus had assisted the Spartans towards the close of the Peloponnesian war, and Agesilaus was a Spartan king: a military spirit, the disgust of despotism exercised by the thirty tyrants at Athens, and the solicitation of a private friend brought Xenophon to the army of Cyrus; and that army afterwards enlisted with Agesilaus in his Asiatic expedition: thus Xenophon became by chance a follower, from habits an admirer, and from his own virtues an inmate and friend of a Persian prince, and Spartan king, both powerful and enterprising enemies of his country: these circumstances and connections gave umbrage to the Athenian assembly, and Xenophon was banished. The plebiscitum Xenophon seems never to have forgiven; and adapted his political stile and writings accordingly, when retired to his villa *Scillunté*, given him by his Spartan friend.

## NOTE [162.] Page 234.

The decorations of the Athenian theatres were superb, and probably in no instance transcended by inventions of modern magnificence. The scene painted early as the times of Æschylus has been alluded to in a previous note. Their dances were historical as those of our modern operas: Telestes (in the time of Sophocles) was "*Maitre du Ballet*," and composed the dance of the seven chiefs before Thebes, so as to represent all their actions. Athenæ, Lib. 1. These sort of dances were indeed most frequent among the Greeks, and their exhibition at the theatre was prepared for, by that at their military sports and public games: those on mount Thebes consisted chiefly of such representative or mimic dances. Xenoph. Anabyl. 6. As to the Athenian actors, they were undoubtedly *the finest of declaimers*; and many of them thence pushed forward into the assembly, and became public men, as (besides others mentioned in the text) Satyrus and the great opponent of Demosthenes, Æschines himself. Demosth. Orat. pro coron. In theatres so spacious and open as those of the Greeks, a loud and audible voice too was a very necessary requisite, as appears from

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the praise bestowed on the *sonorous lungs* of the actor, who recited the verses prophetic of the death of Philip, at the festival given by that king on his daughter's marriage. Diodor. Sic. Lib. 16. and this accomplishment was equally suited to the assembly of the people.

## NOTE [163.] Page 235.

Ἡμῶν γὰρ ἄνδρες.—ἴθ', ἔχι τὴν πόλιν λέγω·

—μεμνησθε ταῦθ',—ὅτι ἔχι τὴν πόλιν λέγω.

Αἰσχρολογίας Comœd. Aristoph.

## NOTE [164.] Page 236.

—ὅλως μὲν αἰσχρολόγιαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ὡσπὲρ ἄλλο τί, δεῖ τὸν νομοθέτην ἐξορίζειν. ἐκ τῆς γὰρ εὐχερώς λέγειν, ὅτι τῶν αἰσχροῶν, γίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν συνέχουσιν. μαλίστα μὲν ἐκ τῶν νέων, ὡσπερ μήτε λεγῶσι μήτ' ἀκροῶσι μὴδὲν τοιάτου. Aristot. Pol. Lib. 7. Cap. 17.

Whether Aristotle alluded or not to the comedies of Aristophanes, at this distance of time is difficult to determine. Undoubtedly the language of that great comic writer, would scarcely in the most licentious capitol of this licentious age, be admitted in translation; with exception to the 'Plutus,' and perhaps another Comedy. The dirtiness and obscenity of his allusions are gross to the last degree; at the same time that the wittiest and most laughable of his comedies are the most dirty and obscene; witness, the *Ecclesiastusæ* and *Lyfistrata*, the very plots and argument of which are highly humorous and comic: of *low* and *dirty* language, the scene between Bacchus and Xanthias in the "*Rane*," is sufficient example. The value of the writings of Aristophanes at this æra, is not however to be estimated merely by his wit and poetry;—they are further to be regarded as depositaries of many political allusions and circumstances, and of many miscellaneous customs which we are acquainted with on no other authority: the ancient scholia too, explanatory of certain passages of the comedies of Aristophanes, have thrown much new light on the manners, customs, political conduct, and

and institutions of the Athenians. In a word, we owe more of our acquaintance with the city and citizens of Athens to Aristophanes, than to any other writer.

NOTE [165.] Page. 236.

Aristotle, in his eighth book of politics, hath particularly investigated the subject of education; and the Grecian gentleman of those times may be fairly presumed to have been most carefully attended to in his youth, from the many elegant and literary accomplishments, which that philosopher deems requisite to a finished character: *εις διαγωγὴν τῶν ἐλευθέρων* to a knowledge of the “Belles Lettres, of mathematics, and of speculative ethics, is added a proficiency in the bodily exercises, in music, and even in painting, so far at least as to be qualified to judge of the works of art;” *πρὸς τὸ κρίνειν τῶν τεχνικῶν ἔργα καλλίον* every, the most trivial, branch of art and science, Aristotle would have his pupil at least acquainted with; and instills his doctrine by the apothegm founded in a story—that “Minerva found the pipe of Pan, took it up, and then threw it away.” *φασὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Ἀθῆναν εὐρεῖσαν ἀποβάλλειν τὰς αὐλοὺς* implying that *wisdom* takes up these minuter subjects of accomplishment, but holds them not precious or of consequence to *her*. But not considering arts, exercises, or even literary knowledge, as forming the sole objects of liberal education, let us advert to that branch of it, on which are founded the moral principles, and social demeanour of the pupil through life, according to the practice and tenets, which he shall in his youth have been habituated to, or imbibed. This part of education was by no means neglected by the ancient preceptors; in modern schools it is almost wholly omitted: and if the rules of good-breeding and refined manners as delivered in the writings of a late English nobleman, are dogmas of a favourite system, and of a system likely ever to be adopted by fashionable parents, and by fashionable pedagogues; I rejoice at the present omission,—and that my children are to take their career of education, ere the blank is filled up. Irksome to the sight of God (according to the melancholy dreamer of the Night Thoughts) as may be the

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naked human heart;—when cloathed with hypocrisy and reservation smothering its simple and sympathetic feelings, it must be a loathsome object of speculation, to the less abhorrent, as less perfect virtue, of every good and wise man ! Isocrates hath delineated what *should be* the character of a fine gentleman in his time : the lessons of the Athenian rhetorician and English peer, form a contrast no ways to the advantage of the latter : the character of the Greek seems the more perfect, for being divested of each tinsel accomplishment which glares without adorning, or adorns only in the eye of a frivolous courtier ;—and for being divested of that refined immorality which embellishes only in the consideration of a vicious and unprincipled man priding himself in low cunning, in default of sense ;—but never can embellish in the view of the truly fine gentleman, who connects *shrewd wit and captivating manners, with solid discretion and correct morals*. The passage of Isocrates alluded to, is as follows, “ Whom shall I term a well educated man, when I deny that the arts, the sciences, and the exercises can alone constitute that character ? why above these, and every thing else, the man who becomingly attends to each incident of the day ;—whose opinion liberally and without prejudice directs his judgment on each business and event ; and who in every relative situation acts most justly as well as expediently ;—who in his daily intercourse with mankind gives his behaviour the grace of decency, and good-breeding, and his conduct the force and simplicity of morality and justice ;—who bears with the rudeness and impertinence of others, and reprobates them only by a contrast of more engaging manners ; —who commands his pleasures, and not his pleasures him, and is therein abstinent, or not so wholly taken up with them, as to lapse unwarily beneath the level of manly conduct, and of that moderation in the use of them, which is suitable to the dignity of human nature :—and (which is most of all) who is never depressed immoderately by misfortune, and who never insults society by too exulting gaiety in success ; but seems as little elate with the gifts of fortune as with the endowments of mind he possesses.”

In the above translation the “ singular,” is used for the “ plural,” and some sentences are rather a paraphrase than literal version ;—a freedom in translating often necessary to render a detached paragraph explicit

explicit and intelligible : but in no instance doth the version deviate from the sense of the author, as will appear by comparing it with the following extract :

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Τίνας οὖν ἔγω πεπαίδευμένους, ἐπεῖδῃ τας τέχνας, καὶ τας ἐπισήμας, καὶ τας δυνάμεις ἀποδοκιμαζῶ; πρῶτον μὲν αὖτις καλῶς χρωμένους τοῖς πράγμασι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκὰς τὴν προσπίπτουσι, καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἐπὶ τύχῃ τῶν χαίρων ἔχοντας, καὶ δυνάμενους ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ σοχαζέσθαι τε συμφέροντος. ἐπειτα αὖτις πρεπόντως καὶ δικαίως ὁμιλῦν τοῖς αἰετῶσι, καὶ τας μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀηδίας καὶ βαρυτήτας εὐκολῶς καὶ ῥαδίως φερόντας. σφας δ' αὖτις, ὡς δυνατὸν ἐλαφρότερας καὶ μετρίως τοῖς συνῆσι παρεχόντας. ἐτι δὲ αὖτις τῶν μὲν ἡδόνων αἰετῶν κρατοῦντας, τῶν δὲ συμφορῶν μὴ λίαν ἠτῶμενους ἀλλ' ἀνδρώδως ἐν αὖτις διακείμενους, καὶ τῆς φύσεως ἀξίως ἢς μετρίως τυγχάνομεν. τελευτῶν, ὅπερ μεγίστον, αὖτις μὴ διαφθεῖρμενους ὑπο τῶν ευπραγιῶν, μὴδ' ἐξανιστάνμενους αὖτις, μὴδ' ὑπερηφάνους γιγνομένους, ἀλλ' ἐμμένοντας τῇ τάξει ευφρονῶντων, καὶ μὴ μάλλον χαίροντας τοῖς διὰ τύχην ὑπερξάσιν ἀγαθοῖς, ἢ τοῖς διὰ τὴν αὖτις φύσιν καὶ φρόνησιν ἐξαρχῆς γιγνόμενοις.

Ifocrat. Orat. Panath.

Ifocrates in his advice to the son of prince Evagoras, comprizes the elegant manners of the polished nobleman in two words.—ἀρετὴς εἶναι περὶ καὶ σέμνος. “display *affability* and *dignity*.” [Those who would adhere to the Greek idiom may read *urbanity* for *affability*.

Ifocrat. Orat. 2<sup>da</sup> ad Nicoclem.

NOTE [166.] Page 239.

Ὅν κέλεται ταῖρας ἱερὸν εἶναι πανταχῶς  
ἀλλ' ἔχει γὰρ μέλητος ἔδινον τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

Philetær. ap. Athenæ. Lib. 13.

NOTE [167.] Page 239.

... καὶ ἄλλαι δὲ ἐταῖραι μέγα φρονεῖν ἐπ' ἰαύταις παιδείαις, καὶ μαθημασὶν χρόνον ἀπμεριζῶσαι δίοπερ καὶ ἐνθίκοι πρὸς ἀπαλήσεις ἦσαν. Athenæ. L. 13.  
i. e. s'accomoderent aux entretiens des beaux esprits.—By the word “μαθημασὶν” is to be understood learning in general; the word “μουσικῇ”

too, so often occurring in the Phædon and other Dialogues of Plato, is not restricted to *philosophy*, but is used in the same general sense, as may be deduced from the following passage of Aristophanes, says the

Αλλανόπωλης—

“ ἡδε Μουσικὴν ἐπιστάμαι, πλὴν γραμμάτων.”

Aristophan. Ἰππείης Comœd.

NOTE [168.] Page 242.

Isocrates speaks of their alternate empire of the seas, as the alternate source of ruin to both Athens and Sparta: τῆς γὰρ ἐν πλείσταις ἐξουσίαις γεγενημένους ἴδοι τις ἂν ταῖς μεγίσταις συμφοραῖς περιπιπλώσας. ἀρχαίμενος ἀφ' ἡμῶν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, αὐταὶ γὰρ αἱ πόλεις καὶ πολίτευόμεναι πρότερον σωφρονέσασα, καὶ δόξαν ἔχουσαι κάλλιστον, ἐπεὶ δὴ ταύτης ἐτύχον καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβον ἔθεν ἄλλῃων διηνέγκαν. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ προσήκει τοῖς ὑπο τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμίῳ, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς νόσου διεφθαρμένοις καὶ τοῖς πράξεσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπεχειρήσαν, καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀμαρτημαῖσι παραπλήσιως ἐχρῆσαντο, καὶ το τελευταῖον ὁμοίαις ταῖς συμφοραῖς περιέπεσον. “ One may observe states from the very height of “ success and power, suddenly plunged in as extreme calamity: to “ begin with our own state, and that of Lacedæmon;—these states “ were most wisely administered, and had a most glorious estimation, “ till severally they grasped at this sovereignty,—the sovereignty of “ the seas: from that æra their fortunes and decline were similar;— “ the same avidity, the same passions, the same disorders corrupted “ each;—each took the same career of action, and committed similar “ faults and errors, and finally both experienced a similar catastrophe.” Isocrat. Orat. περὶ Εἰρήνης.

NOTE [169.] Page 244.

—πρώτον μὲν οἱ συμμάχοι μὴ φερέαις, ἀλλὰ τῶν αὐτῶν συμφέρειν ἡμῖν κρείττονοις, ὅσιν οἰκεῖοι. ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ μὴ ξένους ἐχούσας, τὰς μὲν συμμάχους ἀγῶσι καὶ φερώσι, τὰς δὲ πόλεις μὴδε ὁρᾷσιν. ἀφ' ὧν αἱ μὲν ὠφελεῖται τῶν ἑσίων. τὰ δὲ μισθὴ καὶ ἐγκλημάσια ἐφ' ὅλην ἐρχέται πόλιν. Demosthen. Orat. περὶ συνίξεως.

NOTE

## NOTE [170.] Page 245.

To the same effect Isocrates—*δευλίερον ἢ ἐθελήσωμεν χρῆσθαι τοις συμμα-  
χοις ὁμοίως ὥσπερ τοις φίλοις, καὶ μὴ λόγῳ μὲν αὐτονομίας ἀφίωμεν, ἔργῳ δὲ  
τοις στρατηγοῖς αὐτοῖς, ὅ τιν' ἀν' βελώνται ποιεῖν, ἐπιδιδῶμεν. μὴ δὲ δεσποτικῶς ἀλλὰ  
συμμαχικῶς αὐτῶν ἐπιστατῶμεν. . . . τὸ δὲ μεγίστον συμμαχίας ἐξομεν ἀπάντας  
ἀνθρώπους ἢ βέβιασμένους ἀλλὰ πεπεισμένους.*

Isocrat. Orat. *περὶ Εἰρήνης.*

Ἔεις μὲν ἂν τοιαύτας αὐξήσεις τῶν πρόσθεν ἔδε πῶς δαπανῆσαι δεῖ ἔδεν, ἀλλὰ  
ψηφισμῶν φιλαθρώπων καὶ ἐπιμελείας.

Xenoph. Πολ. Αῖ. Cap. 1.

## NOTE [171.] Page 248.

Isocrates draws a strong picture of the influence of the Persian in the times alluded to (i. e. his own times) contrasted with the æra of Darius and Xerxes.—*Τότε γὰρ μὲν ἡμεῖς φανησόμεθα τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν βασιλείας ὀρίζουτες, καὶ τῶν φόρων ἐνὶ τὰς τατῶνας, καὶ κωλύοντες αὐτοὺς τὴν θαλάσσην χρῆσθαι. νυν δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐστὶ ὁ διοικῶν τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ προστάτης αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι ἐκείνης, καὶ μόνον ἐκ ἐπιστάτης ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καθέσθαι. πλὴν γὰρ τῆς, τί τῶν ἄλλων ὑπολοῖπον ἐστὶ; ἢ γὰρ τὴν πόλεμον κυρίως ἐγένετο, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ ἀνεῦσε, καὶ τῶν παρόντων πραγμάτων ἐπιστάτης καθέσθαι; ἢ, ὡς ἐκεῖνον πλεομεν ὥσπερ πρὸς δεσπότην, ἀλλήλων ἀλλήλων γόρησοντες; ἢ βασιλεία τὸν μέγαν, αὐτοὺς προσαγορεύομεν, ὥσπερ ἀρχαῖοι γεγόνες; ἢ ἐν τοῖς πόλεμοις τοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχομεν τῆς σωτηρίας;—ὅς ἀμφοτέρους ἡμᾶς ἥδεως ἀν' ἀπολέσειεν.* “Formerly we stood  
“forth prescribing boundaries to the empire of the Persian; from some  
“of his Satraps exacting tribute, to others prohibiting the navigation  
“of our seas; but now the Persian is permitted to intermeddle with,  
“and settle the affairs of Greece, giving directions for our relative  
“conduct, and usurping every right but that of delegating governors to  
“each city. What else is wanting to our subjection? does not the  
“Persian lead each war? does not he guarantee each peace? in our  
“private negotiations doth he not mediate, doth he not direct? do we  
“not go to him as to our master to accuse one another? do we not like  
“vassals



CHAP. "vassals call him 'Great King?' in our intestine wars do we not mu-  
 VIII. "tually rely on him? on him, who would rejoice in our mutual de-  
 "struction?" Isocrat. Orat. Paneg.

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NOTE [172.] Page 252.

CHAP. I have taken the *social war* as a subject distinct from the transactions  
 IX. of Philip, in order to place it in a clearer and more forcible point of  
 view. In fact, Philip came to the throne three years previous to the  
 "*social war*," and Amphipolis became almost immediately a bone of  
 contention between him and the Athenians; and in consequence thereof  
 they set up Argæus as competitor for the throne of Macedon in oppo-  
 sition to Philip; who having defeated his confederate enemies, and  
 Argæus being killed, made peace with Athens, and *for a while* left  
 Amphipolis an *independant city*; that is, free in its own pretensions,  
 but open to the claims of Athens; and at such crisis may be placed  
 the "*social war*."

NOTE [173.] Page 256.

It was a law at Athens, "that if any one, whose name was drawn for  
 "*Trierarch* (on whom the expence of equipping the vessel fell) would  
 "plead poverty, and point out any other citizen whose wealth and cir-  
 "cumstances were more competent to the undertaking, he was then  
 "exonerated from the office:" thus one Lyfimachus pointed out the  
 famous rhetorician Isocrates as rich and able, himself not being so;  
 which gave rise to the oration in defence yet extant. *περι ἀντιδοσεως*, five  
 de permutatione, notwithstanding which, Isocrates was cast:—Observe  
 a passage in another declamation of the same orator—*Ἡμεῖς δ' ἐδ' ὑπὲρ*  
*τῆς ἡμέτερας αὐτῶν πλεονεξίας κινδυνεύειν ἀξιῶμεν ἀλλ' ἀρχεῖν μὲν ἀπάντης ζητῶμεν,*  
*γραφειῦσθαι δ' ἐκ ἰθαλόμεν.* Such in the oration *περι Εἰρήνης* was Isocrates's

sense of the infamy of skulking from the duties and services which the necessities of state imposed :—and how applicable to himself the censure !—so much easier is it to talk well, than to act well !

CHAP.

IX.

## NOTE [174.] Page 258.

Ifocrates too gives us a striking picture of the fluctuating politics, and unsettled state of the Athenian assembly at this period. Ἐμπειροταῖοι δὲ λόγων καὶ πραγμάτων ὄντες, ἔτις ἀλογιστῶς ἰχόμεν, ὥσπερ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἢ ταῦτα γιγνωσκόμεν, ἀλλ' ὡς μὲν πρὶν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀναβῆναι, κατήγοροῦμεν, ταῦτα συνέλθόντες χεῖροισινοῦμεν, ἢ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον διαλείποντες ταῦτ' ἐλθόντα ψηφισθεῖσιν, ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ ἀπίωμεν, ἐκζητοῦμεν. “ Experienced in public  
“ business and debate as we are, we act so irrationally as not to be  
“ consistent within the same day : the measures we reprobate before  
“ we come into the assembly, we vote for when there ; and scarcely  
“ have we left it, ere we dislike and cavil at the very system of admi-  
“ nistration, which we have sanctioned by our decree.”

Ifocrat. Orat. περὶ Ἐιρήνης.

## NOTE [175.] Page 268.

Philip was so pleased on hearing of the establishment of this club, or joyous society, that he sent them a sum of money, and required in return their “ *Decamerone*,” or collection of jests and tales, produced in the hours of conviviality ; the collection might not have been very valuable ; but such institution was worth the money to Philip, and its encouragement and continuance cheaply purchased at the price of a talent, which was the sum presented. Athenæus, Lib. 14.

CHAP.

X.

Generally speaking of the Athenians at this æra, the following sentence of Montesquieu is applicable and just : On peut voir dans Demosthène quelle peine il fallut pour reveiller le peuple d'Athènes ;

CHAP. *on y-craignoit Philippe non pas comme l'ennemi de la liberté, mais des plaisirs.* L'Esprit des Loix. Liv. 3. Chap. 3.

NOTE [176.] Page 269.

—nam quæ volumus, et credimus libentè; et quæ sentimus ipsi, reliquos sentire speramus. Cæsar. B. C. Lib. 2.

NOTE [177.] Page 271.

Many cities of Greece wished to remain mere spectators of the contest; but Philip, after his victory at Cheronea, shewed the inactive or neutrals no preference, nor even favoured those joining him with greater indulgence than the most violent of his foes. His Grecian allies and enemies were reduced to equal subjection. Says Pausanias, “τό γὰρ αὐτύχημα τὸ ἐν Χαιρωνίᾳ ἀπ᾿ ἅσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι ἤρξε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθρούς.” Pausan. in Att. Polybius. in Hist. Lib. 5. speaks much of the moderation and humanity of Philip after the battle of Chæronea. So too Ælian. Lib. 8. Cap. 15. and every other ancient author; but such behaviour was soothing only to the indolent and vicious; for good citizens could receive no compensation for the loss of liberty and ancient glory of their country: to such it was sufficient matter of grief that Philip was become their despot.—“Κάτεστη τῆς Ἑλλάδος κύριος.” Strab. Lib. 9.

NOTE [178.] Page 272.

CHAP. *Imperium facile iis artibus retinetur quibus initio partum est; verum ubi pro labore desidiam, pro continentia et equitate, libido atque superbia invadere, fortuna simul cum moribus immutatur.* Sallust. Bell.

Bell. Catalin.—So too the modern statesman,—“ mais si nous voulons  
 “ nous attacher a des causes plus naturelles et plus sensibles de la deca-  
 “ dence de l’Empire Romain, si vaste et si formidable, nous les aurons  
 “ bientôt trouvés dans le changement des loix et des mœurs, auxquels  
 “ il devoit son aggrandissement, dans le luxe, l’avarice, et l’ambition.”

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Memoires de Sully, Liv. 30<sup>me</sup>

NOTE [179.] Page 273.

... σκέδον γὰρ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν ἀρχαίων τυράννων ἐκ δημαγωγῶν γεγενῆσιν. αἴτιον  
 δὲ τὸς τότε μὲν γίνεσθαι, νῦν δὲ μὴ, ὅτι τότε μὲν οἱ δημαγωγοὶ ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν  
 στρατηγούων, ἔ γὰρ πῶ δεινοὶ ἦσαν λέγειν. νῦν δὲ τῆς ρητορικῆς ἡϋξημένης, οἱ  
 δυναμικοὶ λέγειν δημαγωγῶσι μὲν, δ’ ἀπειρίαν δὲ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐκ ἐπίθιθύναι.

Aristot. Pol. Lib. 5. Cap. 5.

NOTE [180.] Page 275.

... ἐπιδειξάτω τοίνυν Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ, εἰ πῦ γεγράπται  
 τίνα τῶν τῶν ἀνδρῶν (Miltiadis, Themistoclis, &c<sup>um</sup>) σιφανῶσαι.  
 ἀχάριστος ἄρα ὁ δῆμος; ἔκ. ἀλλὰ μεγαλόφρων.

Æschin. Orat. contrà Ctesiph.

NOTE [181.] Page 281.

... εἰ ἔδ’ ὁ χρυσοῦς τὸ τεῖχος ὑπερβῆναι δύνατος ἐστὶ; ... et infra . . . . . καὶ  
 τὸς δεχομένους τὸ χρυσίον ξένους καὶ φίλους ὀνομάζων, ταῖς πονηραῖς ὁμιλιαῖς  
 διεφθεῖρε τὰ ἡθῆ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Diodor. Sic. Lib. 16. Sect. 54.

NOTE [182.] Page 282.

It appears from the oration of Demosthenes *περὶ Παραπρεσβείας* that  
 Æschines first attracted public notice by opposing Philip and the de-  
 magogues,

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magogues, or ministers of the day.—Opposition is undoubtedly the best introducer of political abilities, and particularly of unprincipled men in a depraved commonwealth: they have greater scope for their arts and for their eloquence in invective, refutation, and the perplexing public measures, than the support of any public measures can afford. The support too requires knowledge; the attack requires merely ingenuity: it would demand a more than common proficiency in science, to defend a mathematical truth laid down by Newton; but to raise objections to the axiom, which only a man of science could remove, might be a successful effort of many a lively imagination. Opposition and accusation in their course often recoil on their first abettors: the story of the demagogues at Argos, is a striking epitome of their ordinary fate.—“The demagogues at Argos, having  
“accused some of the Eupatridai, they grew rich on the confiscations,  
“and encouraged by the populace, went on accusing one noble and  
“another, until the number of unjust executions and the enormity of  
“their procedure occasioned some remorse, and they stopped short:—  
“when immediately new demagogues started up, and accusing the old  
“demagogues, they in their turn were successively fined, imprisoned  
“and put to death;”—a sacrifice to the popular spirit they had excited, but could not command, and much less suppress.

Diodor. Sic. Lib. 15. Sect. 58.

## NOTE [183.] Page 282.

The reader must not from the circumstance mentioned in the text, suppose that the assembly of Athens was not conducted under certain regulations;—the rules too were probably to the full as well enforced, as those of any political body of modern times; the *Prytanes*, or *Speaker*, having a power of imposing a fine of fifty drachms, on the disorderly and contumacious. The oration of Æschines against Timarchus supplies us with many of these rules:—in the first place “a  
“man of immoral character was not permitted to speak on any account;”—then the orders were,—that “no one should speak but  
“to the question;”—that “no one should speak twice to the same  
“question;”

“question;”—that “when one speaker was up, no one should interrupt him;”—that “no one should use disrespectful language; or affront the dignity of the Prytanes;”—or “whilst the question was pending should introduce any subject foreign to it:”—I pretend not to assert, that these regulations were duly sustained; though, if not,—*it must have been imputable to the Prytanes, who was vested with sufficient powers to enforce obedience to them.*

Vid. etiam Æschin. Orat. cont. Ctesiph.

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NOTE [184.] Page 284.

. . . . . πλεσιώτα καθάπερ τι πέλαιος εἰς ἀναπεπταμένον πύχυναι. πολλαχῇ μέγεθος. ὅθεν οἶμαι, κατὰ λόγον ὁ μὲν ῥήτωρ ἄτε παθητικώτερος, πολὺ τὸ διάπυρον ἔχει, καὶ θυμικῶς ἐκφλεγόμενον. ὁ δὲ καθεστὼς ἐν ὅσῳ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ σιμνότητι, καὶ ἔψυλαι μὲν, ἀλλ' ἔχ' ἔτως ἐπετραπῆται. καὶ κατ' ἄλλα δὲ τινα ἢ ταῦτα, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ φιλοῦσι Τερτυλιανὸν λέγειν, ὅτι καὶ ἡμῖν ὡς Ἑλλήσιν, ἐφίλει τι γιγνώσκειν, καὶ ὁ Κικέρων τε Δημοσθένες ἐν τοῖς μεγέθεσι παραλλάττει. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ὕψει τὸ πλέον ἀποτόμῳ, ὁ δὲ Κικέρων ἐν χύσει. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἡμέτερος διὰ τὸ μέγα βίας ἔκαστα, ἔτι δὲ τάχως, ῥώμης, θειότητος, οἷον καίων τε ἅμα καὶ διαρπαζόν. σκηπτοῦ τι περικαλὸς ἂν, ἢ κεραυνῶ. ὁ δὲ Κικέρων ὡς ἀμφιλαφὴς τις ἐμπρησμός, οἶμαι, πάντῃ νέμειται καὶ ἀνελίττει, πολὺ ἔχων καὶ ἐπίμονον αἰεὶ τὸ καῖον διακληρονομήμενον. ἀλλοτ' ἄλλως ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ κατὰ διαδοχὰς ἀναρροόμενον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν υμεῖς ἂν ἀμείνων ἐπικρίνοιτε. Καίριος δὲ τῷ Δημοσθένει μὲν ὕψος καὶ υπερέλαμψε ἐν δὲ ταῖς θειώσεσι, καὶ τοῖς σφοδροῖς παθεῖσι, καὶ ἐνθα δὲ τὸν ἀκρασίην τὸ σύνολον ἐκπλήξει. τῆς δὲ χύσει, ὅπερ καὶ ἀνελήσεται.

Longinus περὶ ὕψους, Cap. 12.

Oratores vero vel præcipue Latinam eloquentiam parem facere Græcæ possunt; nam Ciceronem cuicumque eorum fortiter opposuerim: nec ignoro quantam mihi concitem pugnam, cum præsertim id non sit propositi, ut cum Demostheni comparem hoc tempore; neque enim attinet, cum Demosthenem in primis legendum, vel potius ediscendum putem: quorum ego virtutes plerasque arbitror similes, consilium, ordinem dividendi, præparandi, probandi rationem, omnia denique quæ sunt inventionis. In eloquendo est aliqua diversitas: densior ille, hic copiosior; ille concludit adstrictius, hic latius; pugnat ille acumine semper,

CHAP. semper, hic frequentèr, et pondere; illi nihil detrahi potest, huic nihil  
 XI. adjici; curæ plus in illo, in hoc naturæ; salibus certè et commiseratione (qui duo plurimùm affectus valent) vincimus: et fortassè epilogos illi mos civitatis abstulerit; sed et nobis illa quibus Attici mirantur, diversa Latini sermonis ratio minus permiserit; in epistolis quidem quanquam sunt utriusque, nulla contentio est; cedendum verò in hoc quidem, quòd ille et prior fuit, et ex magnâ parte Ciceronem, quantus est, facit: nam mihi videtur M. T. Cicero, cum se totum ad imitationem Græcorum contulisset, effinxisse vim Demosthenis, copiam Platonis, jucunditatem Isocratis.

M. F. Quintil. Instit. Orat. Lib. 10. Cap. 1.

NOTE [185] Page 286.

..... τοιαύτην δὲ καὶ λαβὼν τὴν πολιτικὴν λέξιν ὁ Δημοσθένης ἔτῳ κεκινημένην ποικίλως καὶ τηλικούτοις ἐπεισελθὼν ἀνδράσιν, ἑνὸς ἑθνὸς ἡξίωσε γενέσθαι ζηλώτης, ἔτε χαρακτῆρος ἔτε ἀνδρός. ἡμεῖς γὰρ τινὰς ἀπαύτας οἰόμενος εἶναι καὶ ἀτελεῖς. ἐξ ἀπάντων δ' αὖτις ὅσα κράτιστα καὶ χρησιμώτατα ἦν, ἐκλεγόμενος συνῆβαινε καὶ μίαν ἐκ πολλῶν διαλέκτων ἀπέλκει, —μεγαλοπρεπῆ, λίην περίτην, ἀπείριστον. ἐξηλλαγμένην, συνήθη. πανυγηρικὴν, ἀληθινήν. αὐστηράν, ἱλαράν. σὺν ἴσον, ἀνείμενην. ἡδεῖαν, πικράν. ἡθικὴν, παθητικὴν. εὐδὲν διαλλάττεσαν τῇ μεμυθευμένῃ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ποιηταῖς Πρωτέως, ὃς ἀπασαν ἰδέαν μορφῆς ἀμογήτῃ μετελάμβανεν. εἴτε θεὸς ἢ δαίμων τις ἐκεῖνος ἄρα ἦν παρακρούμενος ὅψις τὰς ἀνθρωπείας εἴτε διαλέκτῃ ποικίλον δὲ χρῆμα ἐν ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ πάσης ἀπάληδον ἀκοῆς. ὁ μᾶλλον ἀνὴρ ἐκασεῖεν' ..... Ἐγὼ μὲν τοιαύτην τινὰ δόξαν ὑπὲρ τῆς Δημοσθένους λέξεως ἔχω, καὶ τὸν χαρακτῆρα τῆτον ἀποδίδωμι αὐτῷ, τὸν ἐκ ἀπάσης μικρὸν ἰδέας. Dionysf. Halicarn. περὶ δεινότητος Δημοσθέν. λέξεως.

NOTE [186.] Page 289.

CHAP. Lycurgus meant that the Spartans should have no resource but in  
 XII. their own fortitude and virtue; and forbad the building any bulwark  
 or walls to their city, as serving to weaken a spirit of vigilance and  
 self-confidence;

self-confidence : thus the naked circumference of their town originated in institution : but when the virtue and valour of the Spartans relaxed, walls supplied their place.—These walls were first built when Casander made a hostile incursion into the Peloponnese.

C H A P.  
XII.

Justin. Lib. 14. Cap. 5.

N O T E [187.] Page 291.

The good old rhetorician Isocrates, anxious to relieve his country from the encroaching power of Philip, wrote and sent him an oration, in which he exhorted the Macedonian to leave Greece at liberty, and turn his force towards Persia; and this discourse falling afterwards into the hands of Alexander is supposed to have suggested, or at least to have accelerated, his Asiatic expedition.

Vid. Argument. ad Isocrat Orat. ad Philipp.

N O T E [188.] Page 293.

Yet were the Athenians aware of their danger in refusing divine honours to Alexander, as may be gathered from an apothegm of Demades on the occasion, “ videte ne dum cælum custodatis, “ terram amittatis.” Valer. Max. de Opt. Dict. et Fact.

N O T E [189.] Page 296.

When Demetrius returned from his expedition to Corcyra, the Athenians not only received him with divine honours, but in their hymns and chorusses declared him “ *the only true god*, for that all “ other gods were asleep, or gone abroad, or no more,”—ὡς ἔτι μόνος θεὸς ἀληθινός, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι καθεῦδουσιν ἢ ἀποδῆμυσιν ἢ ἐκ ἑσιν. Demochares ap. Athenæ. Lib. 6. In the hundred and tenth olympiad Demetrius Phalereus numbered the people of Athens:—the citizens were then “ twenty one thousand, aliens ten thousand, slaves four hundred “ thousand.”



ON A P.  
XII.

" thousand." Athens Lib. 6. And proving the justness of an expression in a former chapter, that " disparity of force is distinct from that of numbers,"—" the census of Pericles at the splendid opening of the Peloponnesian war, enumerated but fourteen thousand and forty citizens." Plut. Vit. Pericl.—but the smaller number had the sentiments of freemen; the larger number the sensations of slaves!

## F I N I S.

## E R R A T A.

| Page | Line | For       | Read       |
|------|------|-----------|------------|
| 51   | - 13 | Pausanius | Pausanias. |
| 119  | - 29 | attack    | attach.    |
| 121  | - 7  | Oenophyra | Oenophyta. |
| 274  | - 7  | elected   | electors.  |



